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DISCOVERIES IN THE JUDAEAN DESERT, · XXXVIII

MISCELLANEOUS TEXTS  
FROM  
THE JUDAEAN DESERT



# DISCOVERIES IN THE JUDAEAN DESERT

EMANUEL TOV, EDITOR-IN-CHIEF



DISCOVERIES IN THE JUDAEAN DESERT · XXXVIII

MISCELLANEOUS TEXTS  
FROM  
THE JUDAEAN DESERT

BY

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IN CONSULTATION WITH  
JAMES VANDERKAM

AND

MONICA BRADY

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IN RECOGNITION OF THEIR ONGOING SUPPORT  
FOR THE PUBLICATION  
OF THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS





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## FOREWORD

*DJD* XXXVIII presents texts from several sites in the Judaeen Desert beyond Qumran. The texts in this volume cover the following sites (north to south):

- A. Ketef Jericho (archaeological missions of 1986 and 1993)
- B. Nahal Sdeir (= Naḥal David)
- C. Naḥal Ḥever and Nahal Ḥever/Seiyal
- D. Naḥal Mishmar
- E. Naḥal Şe'elim
- F. Unknown Provenance

The texts included in this volume are mainly documentary papyri in Aramaic and Greek, while a few such papyri are in Hebrew. The corpus also includes several literary texts, mainly leather fragments of the Hebrew Bible.

Because of the large number of texts from sites other than Qumran, it is in order to mention here the volume numbers in which the other texts deriving from these sites are published.

TABLE 1: *DJD* Volumes from Sites Other Than Qumran (North to South)

Site	<i>DJD</i> Volume(s)
Wadi Daliyeh	XXIV, XXVIII
Ketef Jericho	XXXVIII
Wadi Murabba'at	II, XXVII
Wadi Sdeir	XXXVIII
Naḥal Ḥever/Şeiyâl	VIII, XXVII, XXXVIII
Naḥal Mishmar	XXXVIII
Naḥal Şe'elim	XXVII, XXXVIII

Not included in this or other *DJD* volumes are the finds by Israeli archaeological missions at Masada,<sup>1</sup> in Naḥal Ḥever,<sup>2</sup> and Naḥal Şe'elim, all of which are published

<sup>1</sup> Y. Yadin and J. Naveh, *Masada I, The Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963–1965, Final Reports: The Aramaic and Hebrew Ostraca and Jar Inscriptions* (Jerusalem, 1989); H. M. Cotton and J. Geiger, *Masada II, The Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963–1965, Final Reports: The Latin and Greek Documents* (Jerusalem, 1989); E. Netzer, *Masada III, The Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963–1965, Final Reports: The Buildings—Stratigraphy and Architecture* (Jerusalem, 1991); S. Talmon and Y. Yadin, *Masada VI, The Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963–1965, Final Reports: Hebrew Fragments and the Ben Sira Scroll* (Jerusalem: IES and Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1999).

<sup>2</sup> See N. Lewis et al., *The Documents from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of the Letters: The Greek Papyri* (N. Lewis); *Aramaic and Nabatean Signatures and Subscriptions* (Y. Yadin and J. C. Greenfield), (JDS 2; Jerusalem: IES, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and the Shrine of the Book, 1989); Y. Yadin, J. C. Greenfield, A. Yardeni, and B.



elsewhere. Also not included are the small number of texts from Wadi Nar and Wadi Ghweir, for which no photographs were available.<sup>3</sup>

It is a pleasant duty to thank the authors of the texts included in this volume, several of whom also contributed to earlier volumes.

Special thanks are due to J. VanderKam and Monica Brady who served as consulting editors for this volume as well as for several others. Over the course of two years the consulting editors scrutinized all the texts included in this volume, and contributed to the elucidation of the content and the improvement of the editions.

H. Eshel skillfully organized and co-ordinated the preparations for publication of the texts from Jericho. Thanks are due to him and also to B. Zissu who prepared the figures and plates. H. Eshel wishes to record his thanks to the Jeselsohn Epigraphic Center of Jewish History at Bar-Ilan University for supporting the preparation of the publication of the Ketef Jericho material.

We wish to thank the production team for a very professional job. The volume was prepared and copy-edited in Jerusalem by Eva Ben-David, S. Ben-Or, S. Chavel, Janice Karnis, Sarah Presant-Collins, and Valerie Carr Zakovitch. The production was efficiently co-ordinated by Janice Karnis, who also prepared the camera-ready version. The plates were carefully prepared by Valerie Carr Zakovitch. S. Holst checked the lemmas and references in many texts.

The consulting editors for this volume wish to thank the National Endowment for the Humanities for its ongoing and invaluable support of their assistants and their work. They also wish to thank T. Rachford for his continuing help with checking references.

As in the past, we are grateful to the Oxford University Press for its professional production of the text and plates.

The in-context Aramaic and Hebrew concordances were prepared by S. and Claire Pfann of the University of the Holy Land, Jerusalem. The corrections and formatting of the concordances for this volume have been supported by the Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies in Provo, Utah. N. Cohen volunteered to prepare the Greek concordances.

We are indebted to the Israel Antiquities Authority for its constant encouragement and for the network of support services it supplies. In particular we wish to thank the Director, General (ret.) A. Drori and Ayala Sussmann, Director of Publications. By the same token, we owe a debt of gratitude to Tsila Sagiv, photographer, and Lena Libman, conservator. We were guided by the Advisory Committee of the Israel Antiquities Authority which has been actively involved in the reorganization of the Dead Sea Scrolls Publication Project for the past ten years.

Mrs. Marina Rosovski of the Chemistry Laboratory of the Israel Museum opened the documents that were found in the Abi'or Cave (Jericho) in 1986.

The Qumran Project of the Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies is to be thanked for its support for the typesetting of this volume.

---

B. Levine, *The Documents from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of the Letters (Hebrew, Aramaic and Nabataean Documents)* (JDS 3; in press).

<sup>3</sup> See the listing of these items in E. Tov with the collaboration of S. Pfann, *The Dead Sea Scrolls on Microfiche—A Comprehensive Facsimile Edition of the Texts from the Judean Desert, with a Companion Volume* (Leiden: E. J. Brill and IDC, 1993; 2nd rev. ed.: 1995).

Likewise gratitude is expressed to the Dead Sea Scrolls Foundation for its overall support for the publication of the scrolls from the Judaean Desert.

*Jerusalem*  
*1 January 2000*

EMANUEL TOV  
EDITOR-IN-CHIEF





## A. JERICHO

The texts were discovered during excavations carried out in 1986 and 1993. The excavations of 1993 were part of 'Operation Scroll' directed by Y. Magen, archaeological staff officer for Judaea and Samaria and A. Drori, director, the Israel Antiquities Authority.



## Jericho: Archaeological Introduction

(FIGS. 1-15 AND PLS. I-V)\*

ONE kilometre west of Jericho, a ridge rises two hundred metres above the oasis (pl. I:1; fig. 1). This ridge is identified with Ketef Jericho of Josh 18:12. The site appears to have been known to the author of the story in Joshua 2, which tells how Rahab sent the two spies there (Josh 2:16, 22-23). In the Second Temple period, the Doq fortress was built at the top of this ridge. In 135 BCE, it was the place to which Ptolemy son of Abubus, the son-in-law of Simon son of Mattathias, fled (1 Macc 16:11-17; Josephus, *J. W.* 1.61; *Ant.* 13.230-235). The remains are still visible atop the ridge, including an aqueduct which carried water to nine cisterns, and the siege works surrounding the fortress.

Many monks have found shelter in the numerous natural caves located in the cliffside of Ketef Jericho, due to its excellent vantage point overlooking the Jordan Valley and its proximity to the holy sites of Jericho and the Jordan River. In 340 CE, Chariton, founder of the first monastery in the Judean Desert at Pharan (Wadi Qelt), left that already crowded monastery for Douka, the Byzantine name for Ketef Jericho.<sup>1</sup> Followed there by many more monks, he subsequently left for the monastery of Souka, near Bethlehem, and was replaced as head of the Douka monastery by the monk Elpidius.<sup>2</sup> In time, Ketef Jericho came to be identified as the place where the devil tried to tempt Jesus (Matt 4:1-12 and parallels). Monks lived in the Douka caves until the eighth century. It was subsequently abandoned until the Crusader period, when the monastery was rebuilt. At that time, it was called Mount Qarantal, 'mountain of the forty days', reflecting the tradition that Jesus remained there with Satan for forty days. After the Muslim conquest, the number of monks living there gradually diminished until the mountain was again completely abandoned. In 1874, the Greek Orthodox Church purchased the ridge and began rebuilding the monastery, and in 1897 the Qarantal monastery was re-established.

The caves of Ketef Jericho may be divided into two groups: those located south of Wadi al-Mafjar and those located north of it. The Qarantal monastery was built over the entrances to twenty-five caves located on the north bank, previously enlarged by Christian hermits during the Byzantine period. The group of caves on the southern bank of the wadi, including the Abi'or Cave, the Cave of the Sandal, and the large cave complex, remain in their natural state. A path, constructed in antiquity, provides easy

---

\* Thanks are expressed to the Israel Caves Research Center and to its director, Dr. A. Frumkin, for bringing to my attention the comb he found in the Abi'or cave in 1984 and helping me to organize the excavations in that cave in 1986. These excavations were undertaken on behalf of the Society of the Preservation of Nature in Israel and the Ofrah Field School. The research of the finds from the Abi'or cave was supported by a grant in 1987 from the National Council for Research and Development of the Ministry of Science of the State of Israel. [H. Eshel]

<sup>1</sup> See G. Garitte, 'La vie prémétaphrastique de S. Chariton', *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome* 21 (1941) 16-46.

<sup>2</sup> See E. Butler, *The Lausiac History of Palladius* (Texts 7.1, 2; Hildesheim, 1967) 142-3.



access to the large cave complex. This path connects both sides of the wadi and the monastery with the Jericho plain.

In 1979, a survey of the caves on the south bank of Wadi al-Mafjar, opposite the Qarantal monastery, was conducted by the Israel Cave Research Center (ICRC; pl. I:2). A large complex of natural caves, arranged in a row and parallel to the ridge, was found here. This complex consists of ten large interconnected halls. A small cave entrance, approximately five metres above the path, was noted during this survey. The explorers found two additional upper entrances to the cave, inside of which were found three Canadian rifles and a box of ammunition. Used by the Jordanian Army in 1967, the weapons were probably hidden in the cave after the war. In the inner chamber a pile of human skeletons was noted. Some pottery sherds from this cave were identified by the late P. Bar-Adon as Chalcolithic and Early Roman,<sup>3</sup> while the chance discovery in 1984 by A. Frumkin, head of the ICRC, of a wooden comb typical of the Bar Kokhba period prompted H. Eshel to excavate in the spring of 1986. The personal name Abiʾor on a fourth century BCE document (Jer 1) gave the cave its present name, the Abiʾor Cave.

At the end of 1993, the present authors were asked by the Israel Antiquities Authority to take part in Operation Scroll. Within the framework of this campaign, the caves located south of Wadi al-Mafjar were surveyed and excavated, as was an area below the lower entrance of the Abiʾor Cave. Two other areas were excavated in the large cave complex. Another cave, approximately 300 metres south of the Abiʾor Cave, was discovered and excavated. It was named the Cave of the Sandal after the discovery of the first artifact found there, a Roman sandal.

### *The Caves and Their Stratigraphy*

#### *The Large Cave Complex*

The entrances to the large cave complex are arranged in a row, parallel to the ridge. These caves are quite easily accessible as most open onto a wide rock ledge. Some are relatively large (the largest cavity is approximately thirty by ten metres). At one point there is an extension into a narrow tunnel complex (fig. 2). The Abiʾor Cave is located exactly above the entrance to those tunnels. In 1993 an area below the Abiʾor Cave and two other areas were excavated. Six squares were opened in Area B and two in Area F (fig. 3). Similar stratigraphy was noted in all of the excavated squares. After the removal of several centimetres of topsoil containing modern finds, we encountered a thick layer (c.1.2 metres) containing Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age artifacts (fig. 4a). A metal detector helped in finding a bronze ring and three bronze coins minted during the reign of Hadrian in the large cave complex. These finds probably indicate that the large caves were used by refugees who fled there at the end of the Bar Kokhba Revolt. The absence of other Bar Kokhba period artifacts in these caves is perhaps due to their accessibility.

#### *The Abiʾor Cave*

This is a small cave, twenty-six metres long (fig. 4b). It has three entrances: a lower one (north of locus 1 in the plan), located approximately five metres above the path (see fig.

<sup>3</sup> See A. Frumkin, *Niqrot Zurim* 3 (1980) 3–4 (Hebrew).

5a), and two upper entrances. The area below the lower entrance is sheltered by the cliffside (pl. II:1). The only part of the cave where one can stand is on an artificial terrace, built in locus 1 (pl. III:1). In locus 3 a western tunnel (locus 7) splits and, a few metres beyond this, the cave ends in a small room (locus 5). The rifles were hidden in locus 3 and the skeletons were piled in locus 5. All earth excavated from this cave was sifted below the cliff.

The first artifacts found in this cave were modern candles and a small piece of a Greek newspaper from 1948. These were probably left by the monks from the Qarantal monastery who were forced to move to these caves in 1948 by Arab refugees who took over the monastery for a few months.<sup>4</sup>

A Mamluk silver coin, dated to the equivalent of the year 1340 CE was found in the western tunnel (locus 7), together with a single, glazed pottery sherd from the same period, indicating that this cave was visited during the fourteenth century. We may associate these finds with the report written in 1350 by Ludolph von Suchem, a German pilgrim who visited Jericho, that a local Muslim ruler had closed off the path leading to the monastery and that it was reopened only after the monks complained to the sultan.<sup>5</sup> We may therefore assume that when the main path north of Wadi al-Mafjar was closed, the monks walked down toward Jericho through the large cave complex and perhaps then climbed up to the Abiʿor Cave.

Due to the activity which took place in the Abiʿor Cave in the fourteenth century, and then in 1948 and 1967, the stratigraphy in the cave was disturbed. Text fragments written on papyrus were found in three places in the Abiʿor Cave: Jer 2 was found at locus 10 in a crack in the cave floor; Jer 1 (locus 1) and 3–5 (locus 2) were found above the lower entrance; frg. 5 of Jer 6 was found in locus 7.

Jer 1 and 3–5 were found in soil piled against the terrace wall above the lower entrance. The finds there were in an inverted stratigraphic sequence, namely, the document from the fourth century BCE (Jer 1) was lying on sherds of an Early Roman cooking pot. Three texts from the Roman period (Jer 3–5) were found below the fourth century BCE document. These finds suggest that later visitors to the cave removed most of the debris from it, though some remained in the crack in the floor in locus 10 and in the soil of the terrace.

Thirty-eight skeletons were found in the inner chamber (locus 5). Together with the human skeletal remains were bones of twenty-three different animal species. Most of the bones found in the Abiʿor Cave were broken, especially at the edges, and bore signs of gnawing by porcupines and hyenas. The Abiʿor Cave could not possibly have accommodated thirty-eight people, and porcupines and hyenas could not have reached it. We assume that the skeletons in locus 5 were brought there from the large cave complex.

The stratigraphy of the Abiʿor Cave is inverted, an indication that the people who visited the cave in the fourteenth century CE cleaned it out, throwing dirt from the cave to the terrace below. In 1993 the area below the lower entrance of the Abiʿor Cave was excavated (fig. 3). A group of fragmentary documents (Jer 6–19) written on papyrus were found together with a Mamluk bronze coin dated to the fourteenth century CE (pl.

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<sup>4</sup> Thanks are due to Bro. Michael from the Qarantal monastery for this information.

<sup>5</sup> See L. von Suchem, *Description of the Holy Land* (London: Palestine Pilgrims Text Society, 1895) 115.



III:2). The stratigraphy of the deposit containing the papyri fragments was again in reverse sequence. Above the Roman period texts (Jer 7–19), four fragments from the fourth century BCE were found, namely Jer 6 1–4 (fig. 5b).

#### *Cave of the Sandal*

The Cave of the Sandal, discovered during Operation Scroll, is a karstic cave, located c.300 metres south of the large cave complex. The cave entrance is located in a vertical cliff, c.8 metres above a natural terrace. A narrow entrance leads to a small chamber. A karstic tunnel connects this area to a main chamber of irregular shape, while other karstic tunnels, too narrow for human passage, lead in other directions (fig. 6).

Although the cave had not been looted, animals have caused extensive stratigraphical disturbances. The Cave of the Sandal appears to have been used for burial during the Chalcolithic and Early Bronze periods and as a refuge at the end of the Bar Kokhba Revolt.

Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age artifacts were found together with buried human bones (secondary burials). Skeletal remains of at least eighteen individuals were found in the cave. The bones of nine individuals, found in small piles (secondary burial), were dated to the Chalcolithic and the Early Bronze I periods. We assume that the nine other skeletons are remains of refugees from the Bar Kokhba Revolt who fled to this cave.

Some of the Chalcolithic bones were wrapped in mats made of palm branches. On others were remains of a red pigment (ochre). Beside the bones, a group of Chalcolithic period and Early Bronze Age artifacts were found. Animal disturbance of the stratigraphy left remains identified with refugees from the Bar Kokhba period next to Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age finds.

#### *Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age Finds*

A group of artifacts from the Chalcolithic period and Early Bronze Age were found in the inner chamber (locus 5) of the Abiʿor Cave. The finds in the Abiʿor Cave are limited as this cave was cleared and reused at different times after the Early Bronze Age. We shall compare the finds from the Abiʿor Cave with those from the large cave complex and the Cave of the Sandal.

The large cave complex appears to have been used for habitation during the Chalcolithic period and the Early Bronze Age. A large ceramic assemblage dated to those periods was uncovered during the 1993 excavations.<sup>6</sup> The Cave of the Sandal was used for secondary burial during the Chalcolithic period and the Early Bronze Age. Finds from those periods in the Abiʿor Cave may be explained in one of two ways:

(i) The Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age artifacts were brought to the Abiʿor Cave together with the bones from the Large Cave Complex;

(ii) Due to the similarity in size and position between the Abiʿor Cave and the Cave of the Sandal, we might assume that the Abiʿor Cave was used as a burial place.

While in the Abiʿor Cave only a small group of sherds, some beads, and bone artifacts were found, the Cave of the Sandal contained holemouth jars decorated with

<sup>6</sup> See M. Khalaily, Z. Greenhut, B. Zissu, and H. Eshel, 'Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age Finds from Three Caves at Ketef Jericho', *ʿAtiqot* (in press).



broad red stripes, red-painted, spouted kraters, and a votive miniature juglet, together with two axeheads and one copper mace-head.<sup>7</sup>

### *Anthropological Data*

In the Cave of the Sandal, bones of seven adults, a child, and an infant were found, all in secondary burial.<sup>8</sup> The child was approximately four years old, and the infant a few months old. Data concerning the adult individuals are presented in TABLE 1.

TABLE 1: *Anthropological Data for Chalcolithic and EBI Human Skeletal Remains from the Cave of the Sandal*

No.	Gender	Age	Height (+/- 5 cm)
1	female	40+	150
2	female	45+	152
3	female	adult	154
4	female	adult	?
5	male	20-25	158
6	male	45+	165
7	male	?	?

### *Pottery*

Fig. 7 presents the pottery found in the Abi'or Cave. Four bowls were found (fig. 7:1-4). These bowls have a red-painted stripe on their rims. Two of the bowls have a cut rim, thin walls, and burnished interiors and exteriors (fig. 7:1-2).<sup>9</sup> Another bowl of the same type has an unburnished interior and thicker red stripe on the interior than on the exterior (fig. 7:3). The fourth bowl is unburnished with a flat rim, painted only on the exterior (fig. 7:4). Petrographic study of some of these bowls indicates a clay source in the northern Negev. These vessels resemble pottery of the Beersheba Chalcolithic.<sup>10</sup>

One jar from this cave has an everted rim (fig. 7:5),<sup>11</sup> while another has a straight rim (fig. 7:6).<sup>12</sup> Petrographic study indicates that these jars originated in the hill country. A rope ornament (fig. 7:7),<sup>13</sup> triangular loop handles (fig. 7:8),<sup>14</sup> and thumb-indented

<sup>7</sup> Thanks are due to Z. Greenhut for examining the pottery found in the Abi'or Cave and to M. Khalaily for examining the vessels found in the Cave of the Sandal.

<sup>8</sup> Thanks are due to J. Nagar of the IAA, who conducted the anthropological study.

<sup>9</sup> See R. North, *Ghassul, 1960 Excavation Report* (Rome, 1961) fig 16:5a; J. B. Hennessy, 'Preliminary Report on the First Season of Excavations at Teleilat Ghassul', *Levant* 1 (1969) 14, fig. 9a:6.

<sup>10</sup> Our thanks go to Y. Goren for examining this material.

<sup>11</sup> See P. Bar-Adon, *The Cave of the Treasure. The Finds from the Caves in Nahal Mishmar* (Jerusalem, 1980) 137:8; Hennessy, 'Preliminary Report', 6, fig. 5:8.

<sup>12</sup> See R. Koepfel, *Teleilat Ghassul*, vol. 2 (Rome, 1940) 82:7.

<sup>13</sup> See Koepfel, *Teleilat Ghassul*, 87.

<sup>14</sup> See Bar-Adon, *Cave of Treasure*, 148:8; Koepfel, *Teleilat Ghassul*, pl. 92:4.

loop handles (fig. 7:9)<sup>15</sup> are all typical of Chalcolithic pottery. A V-shaped bowl has a string-cut base (fig. 7:10).<sup>16</sup> One holemouth jar dated to the Early Bronze I period with a groove along the outer rim (fig. 7:11) was found.<sup>17</sup>

TABLE 2: *Chalcolithic and EBI Pottery from the Abi'or Cave*

No.	Vessel	Reg. No.	Description
1	V-shaped cup	1200	brown clay, well levigated, brown strip on both sides of the rim
2	V-shaped cup	1000	light brown clay, white and black grits, burnished
3	V-shaped cup	1001	brown clay, white and black grits, burnished
4	bowl	1201	brown clay, well levigated, light slip, brownish strip on both sides of the rim
5	jar	1007	brown clay, white grits
6	jar	1006	brown clay, white grits, burnished
7	jar (pithos)	1003	brown clay, white grits
8	lug-handle	1004	brown clay
9	jar handle	1005	brown clay, white grits
10	V-shaped cup	1002	brown clay, white grits, tournetted (?), string-cut base
11	holemouth cooking-pot	1008	black clay, white grits

Three intact pottery vessels were found in the Cave of the Sandal. A complete jar (fig. 8:1) has a globular shape, with a rim diameter of 9 cm and height of 25 cm. The base is flat and thick. A rounded spout is attached to the upper part of the shoulder close to the rim. The upper part is decorated with thick red-painted stripes which surround the neck. A second holemouth jar (fig. 9) is similar to the former, but much larger. The rim diameter is 11 cm and there is a cylindrical spout near the rim. The jar is decorated with a thick red stripe painted on the exterior rim surface and three semicircles that create a floral pattern. This decorative pattern is known from other Chalcolithic sites including Abu-Matar and Bir Safadi near Beersheva<sup>18</sup> and from Ghassul.<sup>19</sup> Two additional spouts which probably belonged to jars of this type were found at the Cave of the Sandal.

<sup>15</sup> See Bar-Adon, *Cave of Treasure*, 147:5; Koeppl, *Teleilat Ghassul*, pl. 92:7.

<sup>16</sup> See Bar-Adon, *Cave of Treasure*, 139:3; Koeppl, *Teleilat Ghassul*, pl. 83:8.

<sup>17</sup> See R. Amiran, *Early Arad. or: the Chalcolithic Settlement and Early Bronze City* (Jerusalem, 1978) pls. 48–9.

<sup>18</sup> See C. Commenge-Pellerin, 'La poterie de Abou Matar et de la Ouadi Zoumeili-Beer Sheva au IVe Millenaire avant l'ere Chrétienne', *Les Cahiers du Centre de Recherche Français de Jérusalem*, vol. 3 (Paris, 1987); idem, 'La poterie de Safadi (Beersheva) au IVe millenaire avant l'ere chrétienne', *Les cahiers du centre de recherche français de Jerusalem*, vol. 5 (Paris, 1990).

<sup>19</sup> See A. Mallon, R. Koeppl, and R. Neuville, *Teleilat Ghassul*, vol. 1 (Rome, 1934).

A small, complete juglet from the Early Bronze period was found near the burials in the Cave of the Sandal (fig. 8:2). Similar juglets were uncovered at Arad.<sup>20</sup>

TABLE 3: *Complete Chalcolithic and EBI Vessels from the Cave of the Sandal*

No.	Vessel	Reg. No.	Description
1	spouted holemouth jar	1121	brownish-grey clay, white grits, red stripes
2	spouted holemouth jar	990	brownish-grey clay, white grits, red stripes
3	juglet	698	yellowish clay, burnished

### *Miscellaneous Finds*

Four flint artifacts were recovered from the Cave of the Sandal: one tabular scraper, two blades, and one flake.<sup>21</sup> The tabular scraper is fashioned on light brown, Eocene flint, covered with soft limestone cortex. Its proximal end is broken, while the distal end has steep retouch. There are a number of deliberate incisions on its cortex, either horizontal or oblique to the working edge. Such incisions on tabular scrapers are well known from Early Bronze Age I sites in the southern Levant but were rare in the Chalcolithic period.<sup>22</sup>

Two narrow chisels and one mace-head, all made of pure copper, were found in the Cave of the Sandal (fig. 10; pl. IV).<sup>23</sup> No signs of use are visible on the working edges of these artifacts. The first narrow chisel was discovered in the centre of the cave. The chisel widens slightly toward the sharp, rounded edge. This chisel is 12.7 cm long, 5.6 cm across at its widest, 1 cm thick, and weighs 285.76 grams. Similar chisels were found in the Cave of the Treasure.<sup>24</sup> The other chisel and the mace-head were found near the southern wall of the main chamber of the Cave of the Sandal. The chisel was found broken into two pieces. We cannot determine if it was intentionally broken. The chisel widens slightly toward the sharp, rounded, and slightly splayed edge. The tool is 11.9 cm long, 2.8 cm across at its widest point, 1.3 cm thick, and weighs 229.71 grams. A similar chisel was found in the Cave of the Treasure.<sup>25</sup> Two similar chisels and half of a third were found recently by the authors in the el-Jai cave in Nahal Mikhmash.<sup>26</sup> The mace-head is disk-shaped. It is 8.5 cm in diameter, 2.2 cm at its thickest, and weighs 243.03 grams. The hole perforated in the centre measures 1.8 cm in diameter. Similar

<sup>20</sup> See Amiran, *Early Arad*, pl. 25, nos. 29–31.

<sup>21</sup> Our thanks go to O. Marder who examined the flint artifacts.

<sup>22</sup> See S. Rosen, 'Tabular Scraper Trade: A Model of Material Culture Dispersion', *BASOR* 249 (1983) 79–86.

<sup>23</sup> See I. Segal and A. Kamenski, 'Chalcolithic Copper Objects from the Cave of the Sandal, Ketef Jericho', *Atiqot* (in press).

<sup>24</sup> See Bar-Adon, *Cave of the Treasure*, 113, no. 165; 115, no. 178.

<sup>25</sup> See Bar-Adon, *Cave of the Treasure*, 115, no. 176.

<sup>26</sup> See H. Eshel and B. Zissu, 'An Archaeological Survey in El-Jai Cave in Nahal Michmash (Wadi Suweinit), *Judea and Samaria Research Studies*, vol. 8 (Kedumim-Ariel, 1999) 83–4 (Hebrew).



Similar mace-heads were found in the Cave of the Treasure.<sup>27</sup> A disk-shaped standard was found in the Naḥal Qanah cave.<sup>28</sup>

A pierced stopper of unbaked clay (fig. 11:3) was found in the Abi'or Cave. Such stoppers were found in the Cave of the Pool in Naḥal David.<sup>29</sup> In the Cave of the Sandal three stoppers were found. The best preserved of these bears the impression of a vine leaf (fig. 8:3).<sup>30</sup>

A pottery spindle-whorl was found in the Abi'or Cave (fig. 11:1). Similar objects were uncovered in the Cave of the Pool and in the Cave of the Treasure.<sup>31</sup> A bone awl was found in the Abi'or Cave (fig. 11:2). This find is typical of the Chalcolithic assemblages of the Judaeian Desert caves. In the Cave of the Treasure, eleven such awls were discovered.<sup>32</sup> Two were found in Wadi Murabba'at.<sup>33</sup> A few were found in the Cave of Horror in Naḥal Hever,<sup>34</sup> in cave 32 in Naḥal Şe'elim,<sup>35</sup> and in the Cave of the Pool.<sup>36</sup>

In the Abi'or Cave, a bone seal was found. It is 37 mm long, 29 mm wide, 5 mm thick, with a hole 2 mm in diameter (fig. 11:5). The back of the seal is convex. The face of the seal was eroded, making identification of the motif impossible. This seal is typical of Chalcolithic assemblages from Mesopotamia.<sup>37</sup>

Fifteen Chalcolithic period beads were found in the Abi'or Cave (fig. 11:4, 6, 7). These were of carnelian, copper, shell, and limestone. A large bead (42 mm long and 10–15 mm wide) of orange chalcedony (a type of carnelian) appears in fig. 11:4.<sup>38</sup> The hole was pierced in its narrow side. Two drills, first a wider one, then a narrower one, appear to have been employed from both ends of the bead in the perforation process. Beads of the same type were found on the surface at Kabri.<sup>39</sup> Four small carnelian beads, three orange and one red, were also found in the Abi'or Cave. A thin, folded, copper bead was also found here (fig. 11:6).

Eight mollusc shell beads were found in the Abi'or Cave.<sup>40</sup> Five are of *Nerita sanguinolenta*, a gastropod living in the Red Sea (fig. 11:7). In these, a relatively large hole, roughly the size of the shell aperture, was ground opposite the aperture. In similar

<sup>27</sup> See Bar-Adon, *Cave of the Treasure*, 97, nos. 138–40.

<sup>28</sup> See A. Gopher, T. Tsuk, S. Shalev, and R. Gophna, 'Earliest Gold Artifacts in the Levant', *Current Anthropology* 31 (1990) 436–43.

<sup>29</sup> See N. Avigad, 'Expedition A—Naḥal-David', *IEJ* 12 (1962) 179, fig 7:4.

<sup>30</sup> See Bar-Adon, *Cave of the Treasure*, 144.

<sup>31</sup> See Avigad, 'Expedition A—Naḥal-David', 173, pl. 17:8–9; and Bar-Adon, *Cave of the Treasure*, 184.

<sup>32</sup> See Bar-Adon, *Cave of the Treasure*, 178.

<sup>33</sup> See R. de Vaux, 'Archéologie', in P. Benoit, T. Milik, and R. de Vaux (eds.), *Les grottes de Murabba'at* (DJD II; Oxford, 1960) pl. V:16–18.

<sup>34</sup> See Y. Aharoni, 'Expedition B—The Cave of Horror', *IEJ* 12 (1962) 188, pl. 26E.

<sup>35</sup> See Y. Aharoni, 'Expedition B', *IEJ* 11 (1961) 15, pl. 8A.

<sup>36</sup> See Avigad, 'Expedition A—Naḥal-David', 173, pl. 17:6–7.

<sup>37</sup> See B. Buchanan, *Catalogue of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in the Ashmolean Museum II*, vol. 2 (*The Prehistoric Stamp Seal*) (Oxford, 1984) pls. 6–9. We would like to thank B. Brandl for this reference.

<sup>38</sup> The carnelian beads were identified by A. Havivi ל"ר.

<sup>39</sup> See M. Prausnitz, 'The Excavations at Kabri', *ErIsr* 9 (1969) 122 (Hebrew; English summary).

<sup>40</sup> Thanks to D. Bar Yosef for identifying the shells.



beads from other sites, the hole is in the same position but is much smaller.<sup>41</sup> Three other small shell beads were found in the Abiʿor Cave. One small bead was of *Conus cf. parvatus*, also from the Red Sea. Another bead was of *Dentalium sp.*, either from the Red Sea or the Mediterranean Sea. Another bead from the Abiʿor Cave was made from *Aspatharia rubens*, a fresh-water bivalve from the Nile.

The Chalcolithic finds from the Ketef Jericho caves are typical of the Judaeen Desert caves. Although the Abiʿor Cave was cleared in antiquity, some of the artifacts found there are significant, especially the Mesopotamian seal. Two samples of straw mats and linen textiles from the Cave of the Sandal were submitted to the Weizmann Institute for radiocarbon testing. The straw mat was dated between 3983–3808 BCE. The linen is dated between 2875–2624 BCE (uncalibrated dates).<sup>42</sup> This would date the mat to the Chalcolithic period and the linen textile to the Early Bronze Age I.

### *Fourth Century BCE Finds from the Abiʿor Cave*

Fourth century BCE artifacts were found in the dirt fill of the terrace in loci 1 and 7 of the Abiʿor Cave. Two outward-folded jar rims were found in locus 1 (fig. 12:1–2). Similar jars were found at Wadi ed-Daliyeh and in the city of Samaria.<sup>43</sup> A document (Jer 1), rolled like a cigarette, was found above Early Roman finds which included pottery and texts. The preliminary publication of the fragment suggests that it was brought to the cave when Jericho was destroyed by the Persian king Artaxerxes III in 343 BCE.<sup>44</sup> The publication notes F. M. Cross's suggestion to date this document later than Wadi ed-Daliyeh (WDSP) 1, written in 335 BCE.<sup>45</sup>

In 1993 a silver drachma from the reign of Alexander the Great (struck in 323 BCE) was found below the lower entrance of the Abiʿor Cave. This coin (no. 162) is from the Colophon mint. It measures 17 mm in diameter and weighs 4.16 grams. On the obverse appears the head of Heracles facing right, wearing the skin of the Nemean lion. On the reverse is Zeus, seated, his body facing left on a stool, head facing right, and holding an eagle and sceptre. The inscription on the right reads ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ.<sup>46</sup> This coin indicates that refugees fled to this cave in the fourth century BCE, not earlier than 323 BCE. Since a hoard of coins of Alexander the Great was found at Jericho<sup>47</sup> and other fourth century BCE coins, including Yehud coins, were found in other caves west of Jericho during Operation Scroll, we may assume that the documents and coins were brought to the Abiʿor Cave by people fleeing Jericho in 312 BCE, when Ptolemy I took

<sup>41</sup> See O. Bar-Yosef et al., 'Nawamis and Habitation Sites near Gebel Gunna, Southern Sinai', *IEJ* 36 (1986) 150–53.

<sup>42</sup> See D. Segal and I. Carmi, 'Rehovot Radiocarbon Date List V', *Atiqot* 29 (1996) 90, no. 26c.

<sup>43</sup> See P. W. Lapp and N. L. Lapp, 'Discoveries in the Wādi ed-Dāliyah', *AASOR* 41 (1974) 31, pl. 20:1; J. B. Hennessy, 'Excavations at Samaria-Sebaste', *Levant* 2 (1970) pl. 3:18.

<sup>44</sup> See H. Eshel and H. Misgav, 'A Fourth Century Document from Ketef Yeriho', *IEJ* 38 (1988) 174–6.

<sup>45</sup> See Eshel and Misgav, 'A Fourth Century B.C.E. Document', 172–4, and F. M. Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran*, 3rd rev. ed. (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995) 49, 172.

<sup>46</sup> See M. Prich, *The Coinage in the Name of Alexander the Great and Philip Arrhidaeus* (Zurich and London, 1991) 249, pl. CXXV.

<sup>47</sup> See M. Prich, 'A Hoard of Tetradrachms from Jericho', *Israel Numismatic Journal* 11 (1991) 24–5.

inhabitants from Judaea and Samaria to Egypt (*Epistle of Aristeas* 12–14; *Ant.* 12.7; *Ag. Ap.* 1:186), or somewhat later.

The small fourth century BCE fragment, Jer 6 5, was found in locus 7 in 1986, and contains two letters, כה.

### *Bar Kochba Period Finds*

In the large cave complex only three coins from the time of Hadrian and a bronze ring were found.

In the Abiʿor Cave, skeletons, a small group of pottery vessels (including the remains of four jars, a few cooking pots, two bowls, and a round Roman oil lamp), glass vessels, a wooden comb, nails, a bronze ring, a needle, textiles, ropes, parts of leather sandals, and organic remains were found.

In the Cave of the Sandal were found nine skeletons and a small ceramic assemblage typical of the Bar Kokhba Revolt, including two oil lamps, cooking pots, and storage jars. Other finds include fragments of four glass vessels, three groups of coins containing altogether twenty-six coins, and fragments of leather sandals, rope, string, reed mats, and baskets. Two tiny papyrus fragments in Greek were found next to the entrance to the main chamber. The metal artifacts consist of jewellery including two gold rings, a gold earring, and a silver spoon.

### *Anthropological data*

In locus 5 of the Abiʿor Cave were found the skeletal remains of thirty-eight individuals (twenty-three adults and fifteen children). The youngest child was four years old, and the oldest male sixty-five years old. Five of the adults could be identified as males and three as females. The gender of other individuals could not be determined due to poor preservation. The average height of the males was 181 cm and of the females 160 cm. Part of a braid of hair was found in the Abiʿor Cave. The bones showed signs of gnawing by porcupines and hyenas.<sup>48</sup>

The Roman period skeletal remains in the Cave of the Sandal included six adults (three males, two females, and one unidentified) and three children. One male and one female were each 20–25 years of age, the other female was 25–35 years of age, the second male was 30–40 years of age, and the third male was 40–50 years of age. The age of the unidentified person could not be determined. Two of the children were approximately three years old; the age of the third could not be determined. From the various ages and genders of the people it appears that two couples, one male and an additional adult (perhaps another couple), and three children fled to the Cave of the Sandal.<sup>49</sup>

### *Animal Bones from the Abiʿor Cave*

A large assemblage of animal bones was found together with the human remains in locus 5. A total of twenty-three different species of mammals, rodents, reptiles, and

<sup>48</sup> Thanks are due to P. Smith, T. Kahanah, and L. Kolska Horwitz of the Laboratory of Physical Anthropology at Hadassah Hospital in Jerusalem who examined the human skeletal remains from the Abiʿor Cave.

<sup>49</sup> Thanks are due to J. Nagar of the IAA who examined the human skeletal remains from the Cave of the Sandal.

birds were identified. Mammals, both wild and domesticated, predominate in the assemblage and include goats and sheep (ninety-nine bones), donkeys (thirteen bones), gazelles (three bones), and cattle (three bones). There were eighteen bones of predatory animals also, including: dog (four bones), hyena (two bones), and wild cat (twelve bones). Other species included rabbit, hyrax, porcupine, and four other types of rodents. Also present were reptiles, bats, and birds.<sup>50</sup>

### Pottery

A small pottery assemblage from the Bar Kokhba period was found in the Abi'or Cave (fig. 12:3–16).

**Bowls:** Five bowls were found, all in locus 3 (fig. 12:3–7). Bowl no. 3 has an inward-folded curved rim. Bowl no. 4 has a grooved, outward-folded rim. Bowls nos. 5–7 have rounded, incurved rims.

**Cooking vessels:** The cooking pot has a triangular rim (fig. 12:10). Jer 1, a fourth century BCE document, was found on this cooking pot. Similar vessels were found in Naḥal Hever, one in the Cave of Horror and the other in the Cave of Letters.<sup>51</sup> One cooking pot (no. 8) has a round, narrow rim and a short neck. Similar pots were found in the Cave of Letters.<sup>52</sup> Cooking pot no. 9 has a triangular, grooved rim, low neck, and ridge on the shoulder. A similar pot was found in an assemblage dated from the end of the first century CE to the beginning of the second century BCE at Givat Ram.<sup>53</sup> Cooking pot no. 13 has a triangular rim and a low neck, and no. 12 has a round rim and a low neck. Cooking jug no. 14 has a triangular rim. Similar kettles were found in the Cave of Horror.<sup>54</sup> Cooking jug no. 15 has an outward-folded rim.

**Jugs and Juglets:** Jug no. 16 has a triangular rim, and a conical neck. Jug no. 17 is Eastern terra sigillata ware. Jug no. 18 is spouted and painted with a plant motif. Similar jugs were found at Masada.<sup>55</sup> Juglet no. 19 has a cup-rim, triangular in section. Similar juglets were found in the Cave of Letters and at Givat Ram.<sup>56</sup>

**Jars:** Three jars similar to that shown in fig. 12:21 and pl. VII:2 were stored in locus 9, above the lower cave entrance. A similar jar was found at Wadi ed-Daliyeh.<sup>57</sup> A fourth jar was found in locus 3 (fig. 12:20).

**Oil lamps:** Two fragmentary oil lamps were found in the Abi'or Cave. One of these was a wheel-made, knife-pared lamp. In locus 5, the base of a round, discus lamp was found.

<sup>50</sup> Thanks are due to E. Chernov and L. Kolska Horwitz of the Hebrew University who examined the animal bones from the Abi'or Cave.

<sup>51</sup> See Y. Aharoni, 'The Caves of Naḥal Hever', *Atiqot* 3 (1961) 160, fig. 10:8; Y. Yadin, *The Finds from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters* (Jerusalem, 1963) 113, fig. 41, A.10.

<sup>52</sup> See Yadin, *Finds from the Bar Kokhba Period*, fig. 41:2.2.

<sup>53</sup> See M. Hershkovitz, 'The Pottery of the First and Second Centuries CE from Givat Ram', *ErIsr* 19 (1987) 315, fig. 1:15 (Hebrew, English summary).

<sup>54</sup> See Aharoni, 'Caves of Naḥal Hever', fig. 10:11.

<sup>55</sup> Our thanks go to R. Bar-Nathan and R. Birger-Calderon who identified this jug and allowed us to mention the unpublished jugs from Masada.

<sup>56</sup> See Aharoni, 'Caves of Naḥal Hever', fig. 7:10; Hershkovitz (1987) fig. 1:6.

<sup>57</sup> See Lapp and Lapp, 'Discoveries', pl. 27:8.



TABLE 4: *Fourth Century BCE and Bar Kokhba Period Pottery from the Abi'or Cave*

No.	Vessel	Reg. No.	Description
1	jar	1205	brown clay, well levigated
2	jar	1204	brown clay, well levigated
3	bowl	K10198	grey clay
4	bowl	K10197	grey clay, white grits
5	bowl	2000	grey clay, white grits
6	bowl	2010	grey clay, white grits
7	bowl	2005	grey clay, white grits
8	cooking pot	2018	brown clay, white grits
9	cooking pot	2009	reddish clay, grey core, white grits
10	cooking pot	2019	reddish clay
11	cooking pot	2020	reddish clay, white grits
12	cooking pot	2023	reddish clay
13	cooking pot	2008	reddish clay, white grits
14	cooking jug	2007	grey clay, white grits
15	cooking jug	2002	grey clay, white grits
16	jug	2014	brown clay, white grits
17	jug	2001	brownish clay
18	jug	2012	red clay
19	juglet	2015	brown clay
20	jar	2017	brown clay, white and grey grits
21	jar	2016	brown clay

A small group, similar to the assemblage from the Abi'or Cave was found in the Cave of the Sandal (fig. 13):

Jars: Fragments of three bag-shaped jars were recovered, one nearly complete (no. 1). Jars of this type are common in Bar Kokhba assemblages such as the Cave of Letters,<sup>58</sup> and at Makuch Cave.<sup>59</sup>

Cooking vessels: Carinated open cooking pots (no. 3) were found in Bar Kokhba Revolt assemblages in the northern Judaeen Desert, at Wadi ed-Daliyeh<sup>60</sup> and in Makuch Cave.<sup>61</sup> A globular cooking pot like fig. 13:4 was uncovered in Wadi ed-

<sup>58</sup> See Aharoni, 'Caves of Naḥal Hever', fig. 7:17.

<sup>59</sup> See H. Eshel, 'The Makuch Cave—a Refuge Cave of Bar Kokhba Rebellion', *Niqrot Zurim* 14 (1988) pl. 3:7 (Hebrew, English Summary).

<sup>60</sup> See Lapp and Lapp, 'Discoveries', pl. 28:11.

<sup>61</sup> See Eshel, 'The Makuch Cave', pl. 2:3.



Daliyeh,<sup>62</sup> and at the Cave of Horror.<sup>63</sup> A one-handled, globular cooking pot (fig. 13:5) was found. Similar vessels were found at Givat Ram.<sup>64</sup>

Jug no. 6 has an elongated triangular rim. This type of jug is widespread in Bar Kokhba period assemblages such as the Cave of Horror,<sup>65</sup> the Cave of Letters,<sup>66</sup> and in the Cave of the Treasure.<sup>67</sup>

Bowl no. 2 is of the hemispherical type. Similar bowls were found in the Cave of the Pool<sup>68</sup> and at Wadi ed-Daliyeh.<sup>69</sup>

Oil lamps: Two complete, round discus lamps (fig. 13:7, 8) were found. These mould-made lamps have squat, rounded bodies, flat bases, small rounded nozzles, and small mouths, and sunken discs intentionally broken for halakhic reasons.<sup>70</sup> The shoulder of no. 7 is plain; there are three concentric circles and two schematic volutes flanking the nozzle. The shoulder of no. 8 is adorned with an ovolo motif; two schematic volutes flank the lamp. Similar lamps were found in the Cave of the Treasure,<sup>71</sup> the Cave of Horror,<sup>72</sup> and the Cave of Letters.<sup>73</sup>

TABLE 5: *Bar Kokhba Period Pottery from the Cave of the Sandal*

No.	Vessel	Reg. No.	Description
1	jar	10/355/1	reddish clay, well levigated
2	bowl	10/401/1	light brown clay, well levigated, string-cut base, black band on the rim
3	cooking pot	11/303/1	dark brown clay, well levigated, blackened base
4	cooking pot	10/401/2	dark brown clay, well levigated, blackened base
5	cooking pot	10/355/2	light brown clay, well levigated, black band on rim
6	jug	21/914/1	light reddish-brown clay, white grits
7	oil lamp	21/907/1	light brown clay, white grits, wick-hole blackened mouth
8	oil lamp	10/355/3	buff clay, reddish-brown slip, wick-hole blackened mouth

<sup>62</sup> See Lapp and Lapp, 'Discoveries', pl. 29:10.

<sup>63</sup> See Aharoni, 'Caves of Naḥal Ḥever', fig. 10:9.

<sup>64</sup> See Hershkovitz, 'Pottery of the First and Second Centuries', 316, fig. 1:18.

<sup>65</sup> See Aharoni, 'Caves of Naḥal Ḥever', fig. 10:11.

<sup>66</sup> See Aharoni, 'Caves of Naḥal Ḥever', fig. 7:12, 13.

<sup>67</sup> See P. Bar-Adon, *The Cave of the Treasure*, 209:9.

<sup>68</sup> See N. Avigad, 'Expedition A—Naḥal-David', *IEJ* 12 (1962) fig. 5:14.

<sup>69</sup> See Lapp and Lapp, 'Discoveries', pl. 28:16.

<sup>70</sup> See Y. Brand, *Ceramics in Talmudic Literature* (Jerusalem, 1953) 450–53 (Hebrew; English summary).

<sup>71</sup> See Bar-Adon, *The Cave of the Treasure*, 209:8.

<sup>72</sup> See Aharoni, 'Expedition B—The Cave of Horror', fig. 3:14.

<sup>73</sup> See Yadin,  *Finds from the Bar Kokhba Period*, fig. 42.

### Coins

No Roman period coins were uncovered in the Abiʿor Cave. In the large cave complex were found three bronze coins from the reign of Hadrian. Two were struck at Caesarea and one at Gaba Hippeon. The coins are dated to 129–130 CE.<sup>74</sup>

Twenty-six coins were found in three groups in the Cave of the Sandal. None of the coins was restruck by the Bar Kokhba rebels. Group one, found in the dirt in the centre of the cave, includes six bronze coins, all countermarked by different units of the Roman Army. These coins may have been taken by the rebels from Roman soldiers. Group two was found near the inner (southern) side of the cave and contains seven silver coins (six imperial denarii ranging from the reigns of Domitian to Hadrian, one of them silver-plated, and one drachma of Arabia). Group three contains thirteen coins, also found near the inner side of the cave, not far to the east of group two (seven imperial denarii, ranging from the reigns of Vitellius to Hadrian, two tetradrachms of Antioch, one drachma of Arabia, and three bronze coins from the time of Hadrian, two struck at Caesarea and one at Tiberias).<sup>75</sup>

### Glass Vessels

Four sets of glass bowl fragments were uncovered in the Abiʿor Cave, all free-blown (fig. 14:1–4):<sup>76</sup>

(i) Fragments of a bowl and a ring-base (fig. 14:1) from the same bowl or from two vessels of the same type. The vessel is greenish. In the centre of the hollowed ring-base is an asymmetrical omphalos and a pontil mark. The outward-folded rim is hollowed.

(ii) Yellowish glass, outward-folded rim (fig. 14:2).

(iii) Colourless glass, hollowed ring-base with an asymmetrical omphalos and a pontil mark (fig. 14:3). Bowls of this type are characteristic of the late first century CE and the beginning of the second century CE.<sup>77</sup> Similar bowls were found in the Cave of the Pool at Naḥal David.<sup>78</sup> Similar bowls with handles were found in the Cave of Horror.<sup>79</sup>

(iv) A globular glass bead was found in locus 3 of the Abiʿor Cave. The bead is dark blue, with yellow, green, and white dots, and is typical of the second century CE (fig. 14:4).<sup>80</sup>

<sup>74</sup> See G. F. Hill, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Palestine, Galilee, Samaria, and Judaea* (London, 1914) 20–21, pl. 3:7, 3:9; A. Kindler, 'The Coins from Geva', in B. Mazar (ed.), *Geva, Archaeological Discoveries at Tell Abu-Shusha, Mishmar Ha-Emeq* (Israel Exploration Society; Jerusalem, 1988) 50, no. 24 (Hebrew).

<sup>75</sup> See H. Eshel and B. Zissu, 'A Hoard of Roman Coins from a Cave West of Jericho', *Israel Numismatic Journal* 13 (in press).

<sup>76</sup> Y. Gorin-Rosen from the IAA prepared a preliminary report on the glass finds from the Abiʿor Cave. We thank her for granting permission to quote this report.

<sup>77</sup> See D. Barag, *Glass Vessels of the Roman and Byzantine Periods in Palestine* (Ph.D. diss., Hebrew University, 1970) 139, pl. 31, type C7 (Hebrew).

<sup>78</sup> See Avigad, 'Expedition A—Naḥal-David', 178, fig. 6:6.

<sup>79</sup> See D. Barag, 'Glass Vessels from the Cave of Horror', *IEJ* 12 (1962) 209–10, fig. 4.

<sup>80</sup> We thank M. Spaer of the Israel Museum for this information.

Four glass vessels were found in the Cave of the Sandal (fig. 14:5–8). The cup (fig. 14:6) was restored from many fragments. Only one fragment from each of the other three vessels was found. These are a bowl, jug, and a closed vessel.<sup>81</sup>

(i) The bowl (fig. 14:5) is of colourless glass. Similar bowls were discovered in Early-Roman contexts, e.g. Capernaum.<sup>82</sup>

(ii) The cup (fig. 14:6) is of colourless glass. Parts of the rim and the tubular ring-base were found. There is a pontil mark at the centre of the base. A similar cup, probably found at Beth Guvrin, is now in the British Museum. It was dated between the mid-first century CE and the mid-second century CE.<sup>83</sup>

(iii) The jug (fig. 14:7) is of colourless glass, with double-foolrim. This type is dated to the first and second centuries CE.<sup>84</sup>

(iv) The fragment of the closed vessel (14:8) is decorated with two parallel lines. Similar vessels, decorated in the same fashion, were found in the Cave of Letters and the Cave of Horror.<sup>85</sup>

### *Miscellaneous Finds*

Near the coins of group two in the Cave of the Sandal was found a small group of metal artifacts. It contained two identical golden rings, one golden earring, and a silver spoon. Identical rings and earrings were found in a hoard in the Beth Guvrin area at the beginning of the century. Those artifacts appear to have been produced in the same workshop.<sup>86</sup> All are typical of the second century CE.<sup>87</sup>

The two rings are identical. They are made from two hoops of gold sheet, flattened together on the back and separated in the front. The space between them was filled by a gold wire connected to the hoops by granules.

The earring was made of two gold plates, one above the other. The lower plate was attached to a small round stone pebble. The upper plate is lenticular and decorated with a golden wire and granules.

The silver spoon is unique, though similar spoons made of bronze or bone have been found in Israel. The spoon from the Cave of the Sandal was probably used for cosmetic purposes (fig. 15:1).

Wooden combs: A complete comb was found in the Abi'or Cave (fig. 15:2; pl. V:1). This comb is made of *Brocus sempeverenus*, a tree which grows in southern Europe.<sup>88</sup>

<sup>81</sup> See Y. Gorin-Rosen, 'Glass Vessels from the Cave of the Sandal', *Atiqot* (in press).

<sup>82</sup> See S. Loffreda, 'Vasi in Vetro e in Argilla Trovati a Cafarnaum', *Liber Annuus* 34 (1984) 399–405, fig. 6:5–9.

<sup>83</sup> See D. Barag, *Catalogue of Western Asiatic Glass in the British Museum*, vol. 1 (London, 1985) 103, no. 153, pl. 17:153.

<sup>84</sup> See D. Barag, *Catalogue*, 1985, 98, no. 137, fig. 10:137.

<sup>85</sup> See Yadin, *Finds from the Bar Kokhba Period*, 102–3, fig. 38:1; Barag, 'Glass Vessels', 1962, 209, 213, fig. 17.

<sup>86</sup> See I. N. Svoronos, 'Description of a Hoard of Gilded Jewelry from Eleutheropolis', *Journal International d'Archéologie Numismatique* 10 (1907) 250–52, pl. 7 (Greek).

<sup>87</sup> See V. Ladijinskaia, 'Jewelry from the Cave of the Sandal', *Atiqot* (Hebrew, in press).

<sup>88</sup> We wish to thank E. Werker of the Hebrew University for identifying the tree.



In the Cave of the Sandal small pieces of such combs were found. Similar combs were found in the Cave of the Pool in Naḥal David, in the Cave of Letters, in the Cave of Horror, and in cave 34 in Naḥal Še'elim.<sup>89</sup>

In locus 3 of the Abi'or Cave, a bronze ring was found in front of the entrance of the inner chamber (fig. 15:3). The diameter of this ring is 1.5 cm. Similar rings were found in Wadi Murabba'at and the el-Jai Cave.<sup>90</sup> The function of such rings is unclear. They were perhaps used as a garment decoration rather than as jewellery.

Needles: A 6 cm-long needle was found in locus 3 in the Abi'or Cave, together with the ring (fig. 15:4). In the Cave of the Sandal a 4.5 cm-long needle was found (fig. 15:5). Similar needles were found in Wadi Murabba'at, in the Cave of the Pool in Naḥal David, in the Cave of Horror, and in the small cave (Cave D) near the Cave of Letters.<sup>91</sup>

Arrowheads: Two arrowheads from the Roman period were found in the Cave of the Sandal (fig. 15:6, 7). The tri-bladed arrowhead was found in a small cavity opening north of the cave entrance. We presume that a person guarding the cave stood here. This type of arrowhead was in common use by the Bar Kokhba rebels. Similar arrowheads were found in Wadi Murabba'at, in the Cave of the Pool in Naḥal David, in the Cave of Letters, in cave 31 in Naḥal Še'elim, and in the hiding complex of Horvat 'Eqed.<sup>92</sup> The second arrowhead was found in the centre of the cave. It is of a rare type with square section. Larger arrowheads were found in the Cave of the Pool and in the Cave of Horror.<sup>93</sup>

Nails and leather objects: Two bronze nails of a type used in wooden artifacts were found in the Abi'or Cave (fig. 15:8, 9). These were probably part of a wooden ladder used to enter the cave. Similar nails were found in Wadi Murabba'at, the Cave of Letters, and the Cave of Horror.<sup>94</sup>

Parts of nailed sandals were found in locus 3 of the Abi'or Cave, including a sole with four nails still attached to it, a strap knot, fourteen nails with flat heads, and four nails with round heads (each 15 mm long; fig. 15:10–13; pl. V:3).

Nailed sandals (סנדל מסומר) are mentioned in talmudic sources and called *caliga* in Latin. This find is significant because *m. Šabb. 6:2* stipulates that it is prohibited to wear nailed sandals on the Sabbath. The Talmud elaborates, citing a number of cases that served as the basis for this decree. One tradition concerns Jews who fled to a cave

<sup>89</sup> See Avigad, 'Expedition A', 10, pl. 3:7; Yadin, *Finds from the Bar Kokhba Period*, 130, fig. 51:17; Aharoni, 'Expedition B—The Cave of Horror', 192–3, pl. 26:CD; Aharoni, 'Expedition B', 22, pl. 8:D.

<sup>90</sup> See de Vaux, 'Archéologie', 37, fig. 11, 1–4, 6; H. Eshel, B. Zissu, and A. Frumkin, 'Two Refuge Caves in Wadi Suweinit', in *Refuge Caves of the Bar Kokhba Period*, ed. by H. Eshel and D. Amit (Tel Aviv: Israel Exploration Society, 1998) 93–109 (Hebrew).

<sup>91</sup> See de Vaux, 'Archéologie', 37, fig. 9:11–13; Avigad, 'Expedition A', 10; Aharoni, 'Expedition B—The Cave of Horror', 193, pl. 27:C; Yadin, *Finds from the Bar Kokhba Period*, 90, fig. 32:31.

<sup>92</sup> See de Vaux, 'Archéologie', 37, fig. 9:6–8; Avigad, 'Expedition A—Naḥal-David', 178, fig. 7:5; Yadin, *Finds from the Bar Kokhba Period*, 90, fig. 32, 39; Aharoni, 'Expedition A', 20, pl. 9; M. Gihon and M. Vitale, 'Arrow-Heads from Horvat 'Eqed', *IEJ* 41 (1991) 242–57.

<sup>93</sup> See N. Avigad, 'Expedition A', *IEJ* 11 (1961) 10, pl. 3:8; Aharoni, 'Expedition B—The Cave of Horror', 193, pl. 26, F.

<sup>94</sup> See de Vaux, 'Archéologie', fig. 10:5; Yadin, *Finds from the Bar Kokhba Period*, 90, fig. 32:32; Aharoni, 'Expedition B—The Cave of Horror', 193, 27A.



at the end of the Bar Kochba Revolt and decided that in order to distinguish the footprints of Jewish soldiers from those of Roman soldiers, Jews would not wear nailed sandals. One of the Jewish rebels, however, stepped out of the cave wearing a nailed sandal, resulting in a panic inside the cave (*y. Šabb.* 6.2 [8a]; *b. Šabb.* 60a). The sandals found in the Abi'or Cave were probably worn by Jewish fighters, who apparently met their death in the cave, and shed light on the above talmudic tradition.<sup>95</sup>

Yadin identified the strap knot as של סנדל (or: חבט שנוץ) (fig. 15:10), mentioned in *m. Miqw.* 10:3–4.<sup>96</sup> Most Roman sandals had only one knot<sup>97</sup> while one of the sandals found in the Cave of Letters has two knots.<sup>98</sup>

In the Cave of the Sandal, five Roman sandals were found, all of them without nails. Similar sandals were found in the Cave of Letters and in the Cave of Horror.<sup>99</sup> A leather sheath was uncovered in this cave as well.

A collection of very well preserved cordage was found in the Abi'or Cave, most of which was made of palm fronds. The lengths were used as ropes and one as a basket handle. The ropes appear to have been used for packing.<sup>100</sup>

Organic remains from the Bar Kokhba period in the Abi'or Cave include dried dates, date pits, nut shells, olives pits, pomegranates, and other species, both cultivated and wild. The floral remains were examined by M. Kislev, who concluded that the rebels fled to this cave with inadequate supplies and were forced to collect wild fruits in wadis in the vicinity. These remains indicate that the rebels remained in the cave during September and October, months during which the fruits found in the cave ripen and may be collected in the Jericho area.<sup>101</sup>

The textiles found in the Abi'or Cave were studied by A. Sheffer. One of the linen textiles that she examined has two 'bare bands' where weft threads had been removed from the web. Those bands are 5 mm from one another. Yadin noted the same phenomenon in textiles from the Cave of Letters. He assumed that the thread was intentionally removed because of the halakha prohibiting the interweaving of linen and wool. It is stated in *b. Nid.* 61b that, 'If a man inserted flaxen threads in his woollen garment and then pulled them out, but it is not sure whether he pulled them all out, it is quite proper for him to wear the garment'. Because linen was difficult to dye, some dyed woollen threads were often inserted in linen textiles for decoration. And so 'if he distinguished the woollen thread in the linen garment and removed it, it is

<sup>95</sup> See H. Eshel, 'Nailed Sandals in Jewish Sources and in the Excavation of a Cave at Ketef Jericho', *Zion* 53 (1988) 191–8 (Hebrew).

<sup>96</sup> See Yadin,  *Finds from the Bar Kokhba Period*, 167.

<sup>97</sup> See Yadin,  *Finds from the Bar Kokhba Period*, pl. 57.

<sup>98</sup> See Aharoni, 'Caves of Naḥal Hever', pl. 23:2.

<sup>99</sup> See Aharoni, 'Caves of Naḥal Hever', pl. 23; Yadin,  *Finds from the Bar Kokhba Period*, 165–7, pl. 57.

<sup>100</sup> Thanks are due to T. Schick of the IAA for her preliminary report on the cordage from the Abi'or Cave.

<sup>101</sup> See M. E. Kislev, 'Vegetal Food of Bar Kokhba Rebels at the Abi'or Cave near Jericho',  *Review of Paleobotany and Palynology* 73 (1992) 153–60.

permissible'.<sup>102</sup> In the linen textiles from the Cave of Letters nothing remained between the two 'bare bands' but in the Abi'or Cave a tiny piece of red woollen thread was found.<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>102</sup> See Yadin, *Finds from the Bar Kokhba Period*, 262.

<sup>103</sup> A. Sheffer, 'Bar Kokhba Period Textiles from Abi'or Cave', in *Refuge Caves of the Bar Kokhba Revolt*, ed. by H. Eshel and D. Amit (Tel Aviv: Israel Exploration Society, 1998) 169–81 (Hebrew).

## 1. Jericho papyrus List of Loans

(FIGS. 16–17; PLS. VI–VII)

Previous discussion: H. Eshel and H. Misgav, 'A Document from the Fourth Century B.C.E. from a Cave in *Ketef Yeriho*', *Tarbiz* 56 (1987) 461–77 (Hebrew); 'A Fourth Century B.C.E. Document from Ketef Yeriho', *IEJ* 38 (1988) 158–76.

### *Physical Description*

WHEN found, most of this papyrus document was rolled up (pl. VII) with only a part of it open. The inscription on the outside of the scroll has been denoted 'recto'; 'verso' refers to the inside (fig. 16; pl. VI). The blank left edge of the *verso* (corresponding to the beginning of the *recto*) was in the centre of the section of the document which had been rolled up seven times.<sup>1</sup> The text, thirteen lines on the *recto* and two columns of six lines each on the *verso*, runs parallel to the fibres. As can be seen from pl. VI, the left side of the *verso*, which was rolled up, is better preserved than the right side, which was not rolled and has therefore faded.

The document is 18 cm long and 7 cm wide.

### *Contents*

The document consists of a list of names with a sum of money in shekels (ש), *rib'in* (ר), or *ma'at* (מ) noted next to each name.<sup>2</sup> Most of the names recorded on both sides of the document have a Jewish theophoric element, and are known from the later biblical books or from papyri from Egypt; they are typical of Jewish names from the Second Temple period. At the end of each side of the document appears a list of the total amount of money, expressed by כּל, 'all' which signifies 'total'; similar examples of this usage are known from the Bible and other texts.<sup>3</sup>

The document is similar in character to several others found in Egypt and Palestine. One such text, dated to the late fifth century CE from Elephantine, is in all likelihood a list of donations to the temple of יהו there. *CAP* 22 lists the names of about 120 donors, most of whom gave a contribution of two shekels to the temple. Its most notable feature

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<sup>1</sup> We would like to thank M. Rasovsky of the Chemical Laboratory of the Israel Museum, who unrolled this papyrus. The photographs of the document were provided by the Photographic Department of the National Headquarters of the Israel Police, thanks to the skilled cooperation of Superintendents Gross and Schneider and especially of Inspector M. Shalman. We are also grateful to J. Naveh, J. Strugnell, and A. Yardeni for assistance.

<sup>2</sup> The shekel was equal to four רבועין, and a רבע was equal to six מעה. See P. Benoit, J. T. Milik, and R. de Vaux (eds.), *DJD* II (Oxford: Clarendon, 1961) 90–91, and the bibliography given there.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. e.g. Ezra 1:11 and elsewhere. For the documents from Egypt, see A. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century BC* (Oxford, 1923) (hereafter *CAP*) 2:5; 22:5; 73:17; 75:5; B. A. Levine, 'The Descriptive Tabernacle Texts of the Pentateuch', *JAOIS* 85 (1965) 317.



is that by the side of each number there appears the note 'כ ש', which stands for כסף שקלין, *kesaf šiqḥin* or 'shekels', in contrast to this document, where a single letter records the type of coin used for payment. Similarly, in *CAP* 81, which is from Edfu and dates to about 300 CE, the monetary sums are designated by a single letter; a *šin* also appears, standing for שאר, 'remaining shekels' (lines 61–63). A recently published scribal palette dated to approximately the same period contains a list of sums expressed in *šiqḥin* and *rib'in*.<sup>4</sup> The inscription on the ossuary lid from Bethphage near Jerusalem is also of interest in this context.<sup>5</sup> It is a list of names with a single letter noted beside each one: 'ר' (*rib'in*) followed by a number, 'מ' (*ma'at*) followed by a number, and sometimes 'פ' (*palga*, half the value of the coin previously mentioned). The Bethphage inscription seems to be an account of the sums of money owed to the workmen who made the ossuaries, and has been dated to the late first century BCE.<sup>6</sup>

Some of the names recorded in this document appear on both sides;<sup>7</sup> the sums of money listed on the *verso* are consistently lower than those noted next to the same names on the *recto*. Judging from these facts and from the total sums listed, it seems probable that the *recto* is a record of money lent to various people, amounting to twenty-one shekels, while the *verso* lists the amount of money received as repayment of these loans. The total sum recorded on the *verso* would thus represent total repayments and it is followed by total outstanding debts.

On the basis of the total recorded on the *recto*, it may be supposed that at least three lines are missing from the top of this side. The total appears as 'tot[al] 21 she[kels]', while the individual sums recorded (assuming that the amount in line 3 was also two shekels) add up to only 16.5 shekels. As stated above, the upper section of the *recto*, where it was rolled up, has been better preserved; we infer, therefore, that the top three lines were already missing when the document was rolled up.

The hypothesis that the *recto* represents a series of loans and the *verso* records payments raises two problems: (i) Some of the names are indisputably identical on both sides of the document; some may possibly be identical;<sup>8</sup> and in at least two cases, the names do not appear at all on the remaining portion of the *recto*.<sup>9</sup> If it is agreed that the repayments on the *verso* are related to the loans recorded on the *recto*, it must be supposed that these two names appeared at the top of the *recto* in the three missing lines. (ii) In order to ensure that the total on the *verso* matches the list of loans on the *recto*, the total on the *verso* would have to be restored in the following way: 'total [12

<sup>4</sup> A. Lemaire, 'Notes d'épigraphie nord-ouest sémitique', *Sem* 37 (1987) 47–55, esp. 48–52.

<sup>5</sup> J. T. Milik, 'Le Couvercle de Bethphage', in *Hommage à André Dupont-Sommer*, ed. by A. Caquot and M. Philonenko (Paris, 1971) 75–94, and the bibliography there.

<sup>6</sup> According to F. M. Cross, 'The Development of the Jewish Script', in *The Bible and the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honour of W. F. Albright*, ed. by G. E. Wright (Garden City, N.Y., 1965) 136; this is the cursive Jewish script of the late first century BCE.

<sup>7</sup> The names which can be read easily on both sides of the document are: Yehoḥanan son of *spnh*, Yehoḥanan son of Abi'or, and Yeho'ezer son of Shewah. Less certain are Shelemiah *ngr'*, and perhaps also Hananiah son of *yhwḥzy*.

<sup>8</sup> Thus, e.g. the son of *grp'*, mentioned on *verso* col. I 3 may be one of the two people called sons of *grp'*—Tehinnah and Yehoḥanan—who are listed on the *recto* (lines 2 and 7). It is possible that the 'son of his brother' mentioned in line 4 appears under his full name on the *recto* and that *hḥl'* on *verso* col. II 3 is the epithet of one of three people named Tehinnah on *recto* lines 2, 11, and 12.

<sup>9</sup> I.e. 'bd' son of 'Aqqub and Shim'on son of Yehoram, *verso* col. II 2 and 4.



shekels, 3 *rib'in*,] 4 *ma'at*, 8 remaining shekels, [2] *ma'at*' (see fig. 16).<sup>10</sup> One possible explanation of the fact that the sums preserved on the *verso* come to only seven shekels and four *ma'at* could be that part of the *verso* is also missing. In fact, its right side, which was not rolled up, had been damaged (though it is clear that no more than the seven preserved lines had been written there, since the entire width of the *recto* was preserved). It is difficult to ascertain whether in its original state the *verso* might have contained three columns or only two, i.e. whether originally there was another complete column on the damaged right part of the *verso*. If the reconstruction suggested above is correct, it may be presumed that there was indeed another column on the right of the *verso*, which recorded the details of the missing five shekels and three *rib'in*. Since some of the names listed on the *recto* do not appear on the *verso*, it may be supposed that some of them were written in the missing column; other names represented individuals who had not begun to repay their loans and so did not appear in the list of repayments.

It is also possible that the moneylender possessed other documents recording other loans, and that some of the repayments listed on the *verso* of this document were charged to these accounts. In this case, any attempt to reconstruct the total on the *verso* would be impossible.

### *Palaeography*

The script is of the formal cursive type.<sup>11</sup> This script has several characteristics: shading (the thickening of the horizontal and oblique lines in relation to the vertical ones); uniformity of the letters and the tendency to make them all the same length (4–6 mm); and fairly formal letter forms, such as those of the *ʔalep*, *gimel*, *yod*, and *reš*. Because of these traits, this document is comparable to documents written in the formal rather than the cursive script, such as the Edfu papyrus (*CAP* 81) and the Khirbet el-Kom ostracon.<sup>12</sup>

Several documents have scripts which resemble that of Jer 1 (fig. 17): WDSP 1, a papyrus from Wadi Daliyeh,<sup>13</sup> the ostracon from Rafiah,<sup>14</sup> and perhaps 4QSam<sup>b</sup>.<sup>15</sup> The Rafiah ostracon is most similar, but only WDSP 1 bears a date, 335 BCE. *ʔAlep*, *bet*, *dalet*, *he*, *waw*, *het*, *nun*, *ʕayin* (on side B), *qop*, and *reš* are particularly similar. As will be noted below, the script of this document seems more developed.

### *Letter-bases*

The bases of several letters, e.g. *bet*, *kap*, medial *mem*, medial *nun*, *samek*, and medial *pe*, are clear and level. This phenomenon is known from WDSP 1. According to Cross,

<sup>10</sup> Perhaps this should be read as '7 remaining shekels' and not 8 (see fig. 3); the numbers would then have to be adjusted suitably.

<sup>11</sup> J. Naveh, *The Development of the Aramaic Script* (Jerusalem, 1970) 22–9.

<sup>12</sup> L. T. Geraty, 'The Khirbet el-Kom Bilingual Ostracon', *BASOR* 220 (1975) 55–61.

<sup>13</sup> F. M. Cross, 'The Papyri and their Historical Implications', in *Discoveries in the Wadi ed-Daliyeh*, ed. by P. W. and N. L. Lapp (AASOR 41; Cambridge, Mass., 1974) pl. 59, lines 2–3.

<sup>14</sup> J. Naveh, 'Published and Unpublished Aramaic Ostraca', *ʕAtiqot* (English series) 17 (1985) 118–19, no. 9; pl. XX.

<sup>15</sup> F. M. Cross, 'The Oldest Manuscripts from Qumran', *JBL* 74 (1955) 147–72.

letters which 'sit on their bases' are more prominent in this text than those from WDSP 1, and they also display greater uniformity.<sup>16</sup> These two characteristics would seem to indicate that the script of the Jericho document is more advanced. As in Phoenician, early Hebrew, and later in the Jewish script, the letters in the Aramaic script are suspended from a ceiling line. Up to this time, the length of the letters varied. It is in this period that an imaginary line at the bottom of the line of script begins to develop, indicated by this type of letter-base. The lower line also determined the size of the other letters, even those which do not rest on a base. It should be noted that in this document, as in WDSP 1, a distinction was already made between the medial and final forms of *mem*, *nun*, and *pe* (final *kaḥ* and *ṣade* do not appear in this text).

### *Stage of Development*

Several letters show developed forms, which are forerunners of the third century script.<sup>17</sup> *Lamed* becomes a vertical stroke beginning above the ceiling line, as in the Edfu papyrus (CAP 81), while in WDSP 1 the body of the *lamed* slopes to the right and its upper part slopes to the left. *Mem* and *samek* have clearly marked shoulders on their right sides (except for the *mem* on the *verso*). The *ʿayin* on the *recto* is formed of two curved bars, with the left one meeting the middle of the right one, while on the *verso*, the *ʿayin* is in the form of a semicircle, with a tail emerging from its right side and running to the left, as in WDSP 1. *Ṣin* is large and wide, and both legs of the *taw* are the same length, so that this letter, too, matches the size of the others. At an earlier stage, the left leg of *taw* was considerably longer than the right one.

The script of each side of the document is different: that on the *verso* seems to be more cursive. *Mem* and *pe* have slightly convex bases, and *mem* has lost its shoulder. As mentioned above, the *ʿayin* is formed of a semicircle with a tail, and the difference in length between the legs of the *taw* is more pronounced. The *ʾalep* on the *recto* has a crescent-shaped left leg, but on the *verso* it is straighter. On the *verso*, the scribe did not bother to keep the lines and bases straight, but drew out his strokes freely in the direction of the writing. As a result, the length of the letters is not as uniform as on the *recto*. Nevertheless, the similar letter-bases and developed forms (such as those of *lamed* and *ṣin*) visible on both sides of the document may demonstrate that they were written by the same scribe.

As noted above, the document is written in the formal cursive script; the predominance of early forms indicates the scribe's conservatism and his effort to adhere to the accepted style. The developed forms, however, show that the document dates from a later stage of the Aramaic script, in which a more cursive script influenced the formal style. Nevertheless, the difference in script between the two sides (although clearly written at the same time) and the marked stylistic difference in script between WDSP 1 and 2 (even though only seventeen years elapsed between the writing of the two documents)<sup>18</sup> reduce the possibility of assigning an accurate date to these documents. We will thus have to content ourselves with observing that the script of this document is characteristic of the last third of the fourth century.

<sup>16</sup> In conversation with the authors (17 August 1986). We would like to express our gratitude to F. M. Cross.

<sup>17</sup> See Naveh, *Development*, 39–40.

<sup>18</sup> See Cross, 'Development'.

Mus. Inv. K10215  
IAA 700184\* (*recto*), 700185\* (*verso*)

*Recto*

חנניה בר ] יי ש 2	1
תחנה בר גרפא ש 2	2
דלוי ש] [	3
יהוחנן בר שפנה ש 2	4
יהוחנן בר אביאור ש 2	5
גריה בר פדיה ש 1	6
יהוחנן בר גרפא ש 2	7
שלמיה נגרא ש 1	8
יהועזר בר שוה ר 2	9
יהוסף בר שוה ר 2	10
תחנה בר שלומה ש 1	11
תחנה]ה] בר עקוב ר 2	12
[כל ש 21	13

NOTES ON READINGS

L. 1 יי ]]. Only the two last letters of this name have been preserved. Judging from the size of the missing fragment, three or four letters seem to have been lost here. The name could be read [יהוח]י, 'Yehoḥazi', which would match the name '[Ḥananiah] son of Yehoḥazim mentioned on the *verso* col. I 2. The *zayin* here, the first of the two letters preserved in this name, is at an uncharacteristic angle, suggesting that it might be possible to read another name here (and on the *verso*), such as *yhwḥwy*. If we accept the hypothesis that the names which appear at the top of the *verso* col. I are the same as those that are listed at the top of the *recto*, the first name on both sides would be Ḥananiah son of Yehoḥazi (or Yehoḥawi), the second would be Teḥinnah son of *grp*<sup>2</sup>, the third would be *dlwy* son of *'ḥuhy*, and the fourth, Yehoḥanan son of *špnh* (the order of names on the two sides is different after this).



It is possible, however, even if less likely, that the remaining letters should be read *wr*, in which case the name could be restored as [ ]*wr*, giving a name like that recorded on the *recto* line 5 (see the discussion of the name אבִיאוֹר below), or else the name יוֹנוֹר known from documents from Wadi Daliyeh.<sup>19</sup>

L. 3 This line is damaged, but the *šin* which appears after the name דלוי could be construed as the first letter of an epithet; בר, 'son of', is lacking.

L. 12 [ת]חנה[ה]. The restoration 'Teḥinnah' is certain, since there is space for only one letter each before the *het* and the *mun*. Cf. *verso* col. I 3 below.

## TRANSLATION

1. Ḥananiah son of [ ]zy § 2
2. Teḥinnah son of *grp* § 2
3. *Dlwy* §[ ]
4. Yehoḥanan son of *špnh* § 2
5. Yehoḥanan son of Abi'or § 2
6. Neriah son of Padiah § 1
7. Yehoḥanan son of *grp* § 2
8. Shelemiah the carpenter § 1
9. Yeho'ezer son of Shewah r 2
10. Yehosef son of Shewah r 2
11. Teḥinnah son of Shelomoh § 2
12. [Te]ḥinn[ah] son of 'Aqqub r 2
13. [to]tal § 21

## COMMENTS

L. 1 דַּלְוִיָּה. This is a common name which also appears in Wadi Daliyeh papyri.<sup>20</sup>

L. 2 תַּחְנָה. This name, which appears again in lines 11 and 12, is probably derived from the root *hnn* and would thus signify 'prayer' or 'supplication'. The name Teḥinnah appears in 1 Chr 4:12, in tannaitic literature (*m. Soṭa* 9:9; *Sipre Deut* 25), and in deeds from Naḥal Ḥever.<sup>21</sup> It appears in the second line of the Bethphage ossuary lid inscription in the form *thn*<sup>2</sup>.

L. 3 דַּלְוִי. The name is found both in a document and on an ostracon from Edfu<sup>22</sup> as well as on another ostracon from the second half of the fourth century BCE from Beersheba.<sup>23</sup> *Dlwy* and the names

<sup>19</sup> F. M. Cross, 'Samaria Papyrus 1: An Aramaic Slave Conveyance of 335 B.C. E. Found in the Wādi ed-Dāliyah', *ErIsr* 8 (1985) 8\*, 11\*; cf. lines 4 and 7 of this document.

<sup>20</sup> On the name Ḥananiah, see Cross (above, n. 19), 9\*, lines 3, 5, 6; on Yehoḥanan, see *ibid.*, 8\*, lines 2 and 10. According to Cross, the name Yeho'ezer appears in two unpublished documents (nos. 2:11, 4:2). This name also appears in seal impressions of the Persian period found at ancient Jericho (*RES* 1811) and at Ramat Raḥel; Y. Aharoni et al., *Excavations at Ramat Rachel (Seasons 1959 and 1960)* (Rome, 1962) pls. 9:2, 30:10–11.

<sup>21</sup> Y. Yadin, 'The Expeditions to the Judean Desert 1961, Expedition D', *IEJ* 12 (1962) 250. For a similar name, תַּחְנָן, 'Tahnun', which appears in one of the letters, see *idem*, 'The Expeditions to the Judean Desert 1960. Expedition D', *IEJ* 11 (1961) 41. The name Teḥinnah appears in its Greek form, Θευνᾶς, as the name of Babatha's scribe; see J. J. Polotsky, 'Three Documents from the Archive of Babatha Daughter of Simon', *ErIsr* 8 (1967) 48–9 (Hebrew). See also N. Lewis, R. Katsoff, and J. C. Greenfield, 'Papyrus Yadin 18', *IEJ* 37 (1987) 232. A similar form, Θευνᾶς, appears on the ossuary from Shu'afat; see F. M. Abel, 'Tombeaux et ossuaires juifs récemment découverts', *RB* 22 (1913) 275.

<sup>22</sup> *CAP*, no. 81; for the ostracon, see E. Sachau, *Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka* (Leipzig, 1911) pl. 68:2.

<sup>23</sup> J. Naveh, 'Aramaic Ostraca from Beer Sheba', in *Beer-Sheba I. Excavations at Tel Beer-Sheba, 1969–1971 Season*, ed. by Y. Aharoni et al. (Tel Aviv, 1973) 79.

*šlmyh* (line 8), *šwh* (lines 9 and 10), *yhwsp* (line 10), and *‘qwb* (line 12) are well known from the Second Temple period.

L. 4 יהוחנן. This is a common name and also appears in the Wadi Daliyeh papyri. See also lines 5 and 7.

L. 4 שפנה. This form of the name Shaphan is not known from any other source.

L. 5 אביאור. This name is also unknown from other documents, though several other Hebrew names ending in *wr* are known: the name *qrbwr*, for instance, appears in the Arad inscriptions and on a bulla from the late First Temple period;<sup>24</sup> *yhwwr* is recorded at Elephantine (*BMAP*, 9:24 etc.) as well as *yhhwr* (*CAP* 1:2). The name Ἀχιωφ appears in Judith (5:5 and elsewhere).<sup>25</sup>

L. 7 גרפא. The meaning of the name is not clear. A similar form is known from an Assyrian tablet of the late seventh century BCE, which records the debt of a man named *Gur-pa-ya*.<sup>26</sup> At the edge of the tablet the name *grpy* appears in Aramaic.<sup>27</sup> It seems likely that the name *grp* should be linked to *grp*, mentioned in Ugaritic texts,<sup>28</sup> or else with Grapte (Γραπτή), the name of a woman from Adiabene known from the late Second Temple period.<sup>29</sup> Another possibility could be the Nabataean name *grpw*,<sup>30</sup> known from a later period.

L. 8 שלמיה. This form of the name appears in the books of Jeremiah, Ezra, and Nehemiah. Other examples come from a sixth century BCE ostrakon from Azor,<sup>31</sup> the Elephantine texts (*CAP* 30:29, etc.), and a third century BCE seal with the inscription *šlmy h‘d* (the witness) or *šlmyh ‘d* (witness).<sup>32</sup>

L. 8 גריא. The word *ngr* is known from the Elephantine texts (*CAP* 63:9) and means ‘the carpenter’. The name probably also appears in the damaged line on *verso* col. I 6.

Ll. 9–10 שוה. In the form *šw*, ‘Sheva’, the name is known from 1 Chr 2:49, and from the Elephantine texts (*BMAP* 13:1, 9 etc.).

L. 9 יהועזר. This is a common name and also appears in the Wadi Daliyeh papyri. See also the *verso* col. II 5.

L. 10 יהוסף. Cf. Ps 81:6; it is an expanded form of the name *ywsp*, ‘Yosef’. Both forms were used in the late Second Temple period.

L. 11 שלומה. Perhaps it is an equivalent of the biblical name *šlmh*, ‘Šelomoh, Solomon’.<sup>33</sup> Cf. *šlwmm* in the Elephantine texts (*CAP* 20:6, 12 and elsewhere).

<sup>24</sup> Y. Aharoni, *Arad Inscriptions* (Jerusalem, 1981) 46–8; N. Avigad, *Hebrew Bullae from the Time of Jeremiah* (Jerusalem, 1986) 100 (where no. 34 should be corrected to no. 39:3), discusses a second inscription from Arad.

<sup>25</sup> See Y. M. Grintz, *The Book of Judith* (Jerusalem, 1957) 10 (Hebrew).

<sup>26</sup> The text was written in the period of the post-canonical eponym Bel-iqbi; for his date, see M. Falkner, ‘Die Eponymen der spätassyrischen Zeit’, *AfO* 17 (1956) 111 n. 12, 119.

<sup>27</sup> We are indebted to A. R. Millard, University of Liverpool, for this information; the text, as yet unpublished, is in the British Museum (letter of 22 October 1986).

<sup>28</sup> F. Grondahl, *Die Personennamen der Texte aus Ugarit* (Rome, 1976) 130.

<sup>29</sup> See Josephus, *J. W.*, 4.567 (Loeb ed., vol. III) 168.

<sup>30</sup> J. Cantineau, *Le Nabatéen*, vol. II (Paris, 1930) 80. A name based on the root *grp* is known in Safaitic and early Arabic; see G. L. Harding, *An Index and Concordance of Pre-Islamic Arabian Names and Inscriptions* (Toronto, 1971) 159; V. Winnett and G. L. Harding, *Inscriptions from Fifty Safaitic Cairns* (Toronto, 1978) 564.

<sup>31</sup> M. Dothan, ‘An Inscribed Jar from Azor’, *Atiqot* (English series) 3 (1961) 181–4, pl. XXVIII.

<sup>32</sup> F. M. Cross, ‘Judean Stamps’, *ErIsr* 9 (1969) 26\*–27\*; J. Naveh, ‘Hebrew Texts in Aramaic Scripts in the Persian Period’, *BASOR* 203 (1971) 27–32.

<sup>33</sup> Thus probably also Σολεϊμας, which appears in the Wadi Murabba‘at documents; see Milik and Benoit, *DJD* II, 221. The feminine name *šlwmm* (Σαλομη), ‘Shalom’, appears frequently on ossuaries of the late Second Temple period.

L. 12 עֲקוּב. The name appears as 'Aqqub in the books of Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles. The Elephantine documents contain both 'qb and 'qbn,<sup>34</sup> and the form 'aqubu is known from the Murašū documents.<sup>35</sup>

*Verso Col. I*

2	[ ] בר יהוחזי ר	2
1	[ ] גרפא ש	3
2	[ ] בר אחוהי ש	4
2	[ ] יהוחנן בר שפנה ר	5
2	[ ] ה ר	6
2	[ ] נ]גרא ר	7

TRANSLATION

- 1.
2. [ ] son of *yhwḥzy r 2*
3. [ ] *grp*<sup>3</sup> š 1
4. [ ] son of his brother š 2
5. [Yehoḥanan] son of *špnh r 2*
6. [ ] *h r 2*
7. [ *n]gr*<sup>3</sup> *r 2*

COMMENTS

L. 2 יהוחזי. The name means, 'See, O Lord'. It is not known from any other source. Cf. similar names in the Bible: Hazael, Haziël, Hazaiah, Jahaziel, and Jahzeiah.

L. 4 בר אחוהי. The expression means 'son of his brother', and probably refers to the son of a brother of the son of *grp*<sup>3</sup> mentioned in line 3.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>34</sup> The first is in *BMAP*, 8:10 and the second in B. Porten, 'Two Aramaic Contracts Without Dates', *BASOR* 258 (1985) line 12.

<sup>35</sup> M. D. Coogan, *West Semitic Personal Names in the Murašū Documents* (HSM 7; Missoula: Scholar's Press, 1976) 80–81.

<sup>36</sup> For the epithet 'son of his brother', see C. F. Jean and J. Hoftijzer, *Dictionnaire des inscriptions sémitiques de l'ouest* (Leiden, 1965) 8 (henceforth *DISO*). This may also be the epithet of *dlwy* (*recto* line 3).



## Verso Col. II

יהוחנן ב[ר א]ביאור ר 2	1
עבדא בר [ע]קוב ר 2	2
תחנה חטלא ר 2	3
שמעון בר יהורם ר 2	4
יהו[עזר בר שוה מ 4	5
	6
כל [ ] מ 4 שאר ש 8 מ [ ]	7

## TRANSLATION

1. Yehoḥanan so[n of ʿA]biʿor r 2
2. ʿbd son of [ʿA]qqub r 2
3. Teḥinnah ḥtlʾ r 2
4. Shimʿon son of Yehoram r 2
5. [Yeho]ʿezer son of Shewah m 4
- 6.
7. total: [ ]m 4; remaining: § 8 m [ ]

## COMMENTS

L. 3 חטלא. This was probably the epithet of one of the three men who bore the name Teḥinnah (*recto*), but it is difficult to interpret. It may be connected with the Ḥaṭṭil family of Temple servants (Ezra 2:57; Neh 7:59).<sup>37</sup> The epithet also appears at Qumran: a jug inscribed *ywhnn ḥtlʾ* was found in a stone basin in one of the rooms of the public building.<sup>38</sup> The Teḥinnah of this document and Yoḥanan (first century BCE) have the same epithet. Judging from the name ‘Shelamiah the carpenter’, it would seem that *ḥtlʾ* also designated a profession, as yet unidentifiable. Yadin read the Qumran inscription as *ywhnn ḥtlʾ*, ‘Yoḥanan the youth’.<sup>39</sup> Demsky suggested that חטלא was the name of a village in the vicinity of Qumran and Jericho.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>37</sup> On the name Ḥaṭṭil, see R. Zadok, ‘Notes on the Biblical and Extra-Biblical Onomasticon’, *JQR* 71 (1980) 115; *Enq. Miqr.*, III, col. 107 (Hebrew). The name *ḥtlw* is a Nabataean variant of *ḥntlw*; see Cantineau, *Nabatéen*, 95.

<sup>38</sup> See R. de Vaux, ‘Fouilles en Khirbet Qumran’, *RB* 61 (1954) 208, pl. XIIa. The jug has two rims; perhaps this strange shape has something to do with the enigmatic name *ḥtlʾ*. Cf. the photograph in *Inscriptions Revealed* (Israel Museum Catalogue 100; Jerusalem, 1972) 243, no. 245.

<sup>39</sup> Y. Yadin, *The Message of the Scrolls* (New York, 1957) 62. If we accept the reading *ḥtlʾ*, as suggested by Yadin, we then have to deal with the problem of the use of the Hebrew determinative article in an Aramaic document. In this period, great care was taken to write Aramaic documents in Aramaic script, and Hebrew texts in Hebrew script. There are however some cases of surnames of Hebrew origin which keep their Hebrew form even in Aramaic documents. One example is *šlmy ḥʿd*, ‘Shelomi the witness’. In any case, the use of the term ‘*tale*’ in the sense of a young boy was common in Aramaic and other languages, especially in Jewish and Palmyrene Aramaic. See M. Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, The Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature and Targumim* (New York, 1902) 536–7. For examples from Palmyra, see *DISO*, 101. The surname *ṭlyn*, used to describe youths according to *DISO*, appears as early as Official Aramaic (*CIS* II, 111:2), but this is doubtful. The spelling *ṭlʾ*, instead of *ṭlh*, appears in the

L. 4 יְהוֹרָם. This biblical name is rarely found in the Second Temple period. It appears in a fourth century BCE papyrus from Saqqara and is written in the form *yhhrm* in the Elephantine texts.<sup>41</sup>

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zodiac shown on the floor of the Beth Alpha synagogue; E. L. Sukenik, 'The Ancient Synagogue of Beth-Alfa', *Tarbiz* 1 (1930) 113 (Hebrew); J. Naveh, *On Stone and Mosaic* (Jerusalem, 1978) 75, no. 45 (Hebrew).

<sup>40</sup> A. Demsky, 'Qumran Epigraphy and Mishnaic Geography: The Identification of הַתְּל' with הַתְּתִּילִים (Menahoth 8:6)', *DSD* 4 (1997) 157–61.

<sup>41</sup> J. B. Segal, *Aramaic Texts from North Saqqara with some Fragments in Phoenician* (London, 1983) text 47:8; Porten, 'Two Aramaic Contracts', 45, CII:13.

## 2. Jericho papyrus Deed of Sale or Lease ar

(FIG. 18 AND PL. VII)

Preliminary publications: E. and H. Eshel, 'Fragments of Two Aramaic Documents Which Were Brought to the Abiṣor Cave During the Bar Kokhba Revolt', *ErIsr* 23 (1992) 276–85; A. Yardeni, 'The Script in Two Fragmentary Deeds from the Abiṣor Cave', *ErIsr* 23 (1992) 327–30 (Hebrew).

### *Physical Description*

THIS document is a deed or lease written on papyrus. Frg. 1 (numbered K10212), measuring 10.1 x 18.1 cm, was found in the dirt that filled a crack in the floor of the Abiṣor Cave. Frg. 2 (numbered 147–594), measuring 8 x 9.5 cm, was found outside the Abiṣor Cave. A. Yardeni identified the fragments as parts of one document. Although no physical join was made, Yardeni suggested a join between the two fragments. The papyrus was treated and is a light brown colour; one may still discern the fibres. The deed was written perpendicular to the fibres in dark brown ink. The script is of irregular thickness. אַפְרַעָה לְרַבַּע in line 1 was apparently written just after the scribe dipped the pen in the ink, whereas לְאֶקְבֵּלְדָךְ עִבִּיד in line 3 was written when there was little ink left on the nib. The average height of the letters is 3 mm. The space between the lines is 6–8 mm; there is a 12-mm space above the upper line with no remnants of any writing. The bottom margin measures 12 mm. The upper and lower margins did not survive in their entirety, but they are sufficient to indicate that the deed only contained the nine lines of which remnants are still visible. The right side of the document is missing.

### *Contents*

The deed was written on five lines, supplemented with four lines of signatures. Only traces of letters of the witnesses' names remain and after each signature the word כְּחַבָּה appears. Between the first two signatures there is a gap of 15 mm. The remaining three are written close together. This kind of document is referred to in the Mishna as a 'simple deed': גַּם פְּשׁוּם עֵדוֹ מְחוּבֵּו, 'In a simple deed the witnesses are contained within' (*m. B. Bat.* 10:1).

The deed as preserved is fragmentary, but from what survives it appears that it deals with the sale of a field: in line 4 it mentions זֶבֶן וּבֵן חֶקְלָא דִּי זָבֵן, 'the field which he bought'.

The original extent of the deed was only four and one-half lines. From the remains it seems that the deed did not include a description of the field's boundaries or contents. The first line mentions repayment in quarters: אַפְרַעָה לְרַבַּע, 'I shall pay in quarters' (line 1). Therefore, it might lead to the conclusion that the deed was a new document which replaced the original one. It was written by the buyer after three-quarters of the payment were already paid and only the last quarter remains; he



promises: אפרעה לרבע, 'I shall repay the (last) quarter' (line 1). שטרך כולה, 'your entire deed' mentioned in the following line may indicate that with the last quarter he will complete his payment.<sup>1</sup> *M. B. Bat.* 10:6 states יוסה ור' יהודה אומר יחליף ור' יוסה, 'If a man had paid part of his debt, R. Judah says he should change his bond for another; R. Jose says he should write him out a quittance'. According to our understanding, Jer 2 records an obligation to pay one-quarter, presumably the last part of the payment for a field, to which a guarantee was added. Therefore, the deed seems to reflect R. Judah's position.<sup>2</sup> P.Yadin 42 is a deed of lease, where the lessee undertakes to pay the lease-money in three payments.<sup>3</sup> Thus we may assume, that Jer 2 was a deed of lease of a field, which was paid in four instalments.

In line 3 of the document, a further obligation is mentioned, namely 3,000 units of some item, which are sealed up somewhere, and are to be given to נחוניא בר לויא, 'Neḥunia son of the Levite'. It is possible that the sum 3,000 mentioned in line 3 does not refer to the amount paid, but rather to a guarantee given to the seller.<sup>4</sup> It is clear that it is not a sum of money, since amounts of *zuzim* (dinars) and *sela'im* (tetradrachmas; one *sela'* = four *zuzim*) in documents from the time of the Bar Kokhba Rebellion do not exceed the equivalent of several dozen *sela'im*.

Promissory notes with guarantees were discovered at Elephantine. They include detailed lists of the borrower's property that will be seized if he, the guarantors, or the inheritors fail to repay the loan.<sup>5</sup> The deeds from the Bar Kokhba period discussed here do not mention a specific guarantee, but rather state that if the debtor fails to repay his debts, his property is hypothecated to pay it.<sup>6</sup> לקבלדך appears in those documents as part of this commitment, and it is found also in the deed from the Abi'or Cave.<sup>7</sup>

Fields are mentioned in three Aramaic deeds dated to the Bar Kokhba Revolt. The first is a deed of sale and the other two are deeds of lease:

1. In XHev/Se Deed of Sale D ar (XHev/Se 9), a field of orchards is being sold: ח[ק]ל פרדסה[ן] בית זרע חנטי[ן] סאין חלה, 'the f[ie]ld of the orchard (or: the garden) [the area of sowing of] three *se'ahs* of [wheat]' (line 3).

2. Mur 24 documents a few deeds of lease made by Hillel son of Garis in the City of *Nahaš*.

<sup>1</sup> On receipts, see A. Gulak, *A Collection of Legal Deeds Used in Israel (Ošar Ha-Shtarot)* (Jerusalem, 1926) 243–6 (Hebrew).

<sup>2</sup> See the discussion of A. Gulak, *Legal Documents in the Talmud in Light of Greek Papyri and Greek and Roman Law*, ed. and suppl. by R. Katzoff (Jerusalem, 1994) 175–7 (Hebrew).

<sup>3</sup> Yadin, *Expedition D—The Cave of the Letters*, 249.

<sup>4</sup> S. Friedman suggested to the author that lines 3–4 describe a guarantee.

<sup>5</sup> *TAD* II, 54–7 (Cowley 10); 98–100 (Kraeling 11); 114–15 (Cowley 35).

<sup>6</sup> Mur 18 7–8; XHev/Se 49 10–11.

<sup>7</sup> For evidence of the widespread use of guarantees in the Jewish deeds of debt and sale reflected in Talmudic literature, see S. Y. Friedman, *Talmud Arukh: BT Bava Mezi'a VI* (Jerusalem, 1990) 108–11.

3. Mur 26 was first published by Milik;<sup>8</sup> later, after being collated with XHev/Se Deed of Sale ar (XHev/Se 50), it was published by Yardeni.<sup>9</sup> It reads: בית [נ]רע חנשין סאין תלה וקבין תלה, 'the area of [so]wing of three *seahs* and three *qabs* of wheat'.

Mus. Inv. K10212, K29638  
IAA 700191

Frgs. 1 + 2

*top margin*

[ ]	א[פרעה לרבע א	]א ואנה	]א דמי	א[ ]	א[ ]	א[ ]	1
[ ]	א[ לקבלדך ומן	]א	]שטרך כולה מן	]א	]א	]א	2
א[ ]	א[ ]	א[ ]	א[ ]	א[ ]	א[ ]	א[ ]	3
א[ ]	א[ ]	א[ ]	א[ ]	א[ ]	א[ ]	א[ ]	4
							5
							6
							7
							8
							9

*bottom margin*

TRANSLATION

1. [ ] [ ] price of [ ] and I [ ] [ ] shall pay the quarter [ ]
2. [ ] the [fie]ld which [ ] [ ] your entire deed, from [ ] according to that, and from [ ]
3. [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] according to that, done [ ] as within it and sealed three thousand
4. [ ] the field which he bought (or: sold) [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] within from [ ] was given to that (?) Neḥu[n]ia son of the Levite, to him (?)
5. [ ] [ ] [ ] according to that.
6. [ ] [ ] [ ] signed
7. [ ] [ ] signed
8. Maḥanaim [ ] [ ]
9. [ ] signed

<sup>8</sup> Milik, 'Deux documents', 255–64; Milik, 'Textes hébreux et araméens', in Benoit et al., *DJD* II, 137–8.

<sup>9</sup> Yardeni, *DJD* XXVII, 123–9.

## COMMENTS

L. 1 א[א]פרעה. The beginning of this line is unclear, but since the continuation deals with the payment, it seems likely that the beginning of line 1 deals with the undertaking of the buyer. This undertaking is formulated in the 1st person, as shown by the continuation, which may be read as ואנה. Accordingly, it is possible to restore א[א]פרעה, 'I shall pay it' (root פרע, *Pe'al*, 1st sing. imperfect + 3rd masc. sing. suffix; we would expect the form אפרענה), as we find in Mur 18 6: דנה אפרוענך, 'I shall repay it to you'. In other deeds of debt we find the formula לי שת[ו]מר לי, '(on condition) that I shall pay you at any time that you say to me' (XHev/Se 49 8). A similar formulation is found in *b. B. Bat.* 5a: פרעתוך בתוך זמני.

L. 1 א[א]פרעה לרבע. A similar expression is found in Mur 18 6: אפרוענך בח[מש], which Milik and Koffmahn interpret to mean an interest rate of one-fifth the amount of the principal;<sup>10</sup> Lehmann suggested it meant repayment in the fifth year of the sabbatical cycle.<sup>11</sup> Lehmann's suggestion is incompatible with אפרעה לרבע appearing in this deed, while Koffmahn and Milik's suggestion is unlikely, as the term 'interest' is not mentioned in the document. It should also be compared with P.Yadin 42, where the lessee undertakes to pay the lease-money in three annual instalments of 300, 250, and 100 *zuzim*.<sup>12</sup>

It seems that a better understanding of these expressions may be derived from a divorce document which speaks of a husband's commitment to his ex-wife: ומשלם לרבעין (Mur 19 10, 23). Milik interpreted לרבעין to mean four-fold, Yaron held that four payments are intended,<sup>13</sup> and Lehmann maintained that the husband held his wife's property in charter and agreed to pay her a quarter of the yield.<sup>14</sup> It seems that Yaron's interpretation is correct, since it is most practical, while the other explanations do not stand up to closer scrutiny.<sup>15</sup> It thus seems that לרבע in this document, בחמש in Mur 18, and לרבעין in Mur 19 all describe payment arrangements. The interchange of the prepositions ל-/-ב is known from Biblical and Rabbinic Hebrew.<sup>16</sup>

L. 2 חקלא זי. See line 4.

L. 2 א[א]שטרך כולה. Compare this with XHev/Se 49 הוא על השטר הזה, 'And it is confirmed by me all that is on this document' (lines 11–12). We may consider the possibility that these words are part of a parallel formula, where the buyer confirms his responsibility to pay the last quarter for the field he bought.

L. 2 לקבלוך. The same expression appears in line 3 and at the end of line 5. It usually appears as part of the fixed formula, אקנה לקבלוך, 'the fulfillment of the payment (will be) from [my] proper[ty] and (from) whatever I will acquire, according to that' (XHev/Se 9 10; see also *ibid.* 5 10; XHev/Se 22 1).<sup>17</sup>

L. 3 עביר. The form is a sing. passive participle. The verb has various meanings including 'done'.<sup>18</sup>

L. 3 וחתיים. The root חתם, in the passive participle, usually appears with the prepositions על or ל-, but in this text it appears with ב-. At first glance, it would seem possible to interpret this as referring to

<sup>10</sup> Milik, *DJD* II, 100–104; E. Koffmahn, *Die Doppelurkunden aus der Wüste Juda* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1968) 85. Milik translated the phrase דנה אפרוענך בחמש, '-là, (l'argent) te sera payé avec (l'intérêt) d'un cinquième'.

<sup>11</sup> M. R. Lehmann, 'Studies in the Murabba'at and Nahal Hever Documents', *RevQ* 4 (1963) 56–9.

<sup>12</sup> Yadin, *Expedition D—The Cave of the Letters*, 249.

<sup>13</sup> R. Yaron, 'The Murabba'at Documents', *JJS* 11 (1960) 159. Yaron based his interpretation on Roman law, which allows for an arrangement of three payments.

<sup>14</sup> Lehmann, 'Studies in Murabba'at', relies on *b. B. Mex.* 103b עלמא בריבעא, 'everyone accepts for a quarter', i.e. the standard rate for land tenancy was a quarter.

<sup>15</sup> Greenfield judged similarly and translated accordingly in *Inscriptions Reveal* (Catalogue 100; Jerusalem: Israel Museum, 1973) 200.

<sup>16</sup> A. Ben-David, *Biblical Hebrew and Mishnaic Hebrew*, vol. 1 (Tel Aviv, 1967) 142–3 (Hebrew) and literature cited.

<sup>17</sup> Thus it may be possible to reconstruct this formula at the end of the deed (line 5).

<sup>18</sup> See M. Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Aramaic of the Byzantine Period* (Ramat-Gan, 1990) 391–2.



L. 3 וחתים. The root חתם, in the passive participle, usually appears with the prepositions על or -ל, but in this text it appears with -ב. At first glance, it would seem possible to interpret this as referring to the signatures, similar to WD 1 11–12: החתמון המו מהימן: '[witnesses who] affix their seals, they being trustworthy'.<sup>19</sup> However, since the verb is feminine, it seems that signed/sealed should be taken as meaning locked. In Job 24:16, the Hebrew חתמו בתי (חתר בחשך בתים) is translated in *Tg. Ket.* מחתמין להון בגוויא, 'sealing them in the treasury'. The verb appears similarly in the Passover Letter from Elephantine (Cowley 21, TAD A 4.1) ה[נ]עלו בחונכם וחתמו, 'p[ut] in your rooms and seal (them)'. This meaning also appears in *b. B. Bat.* 89b. It is possible that in the Abḥor document, Naḥunia, son of the Levite was given a box, room, or house in which were sealed 3,000 units of agricultural produce or other goods, according to some system of units, as a security deposit. By way of comparison, note the loaves of bread mentioned in Mas 577: לבר לוי לחם [ל]ף 20 נקי: 'For the Son of Levi, 1,020 loaves of bread—white'.<sup>20</sup>

L. 4 חקלא. The field was mentioned earlier in line 2, probably specified later, 'which [ ]', either by its content, such as חקלא פרדסה, 'the f[ie]ld of the Orchard (or: the Garden)' as mentioned in XHev/Se Deed of Sale D ar (XHev/Se 9) line 3. The field was also mentioned by its boundaries in a land lease in the earliest Aramaic contract written on papyrus coming from *Krb* [= Greek Korobis] entitled as לאחא ספר חוב חקל זי כ[ת]ב פדני, 'Document of obligation of a field which Pad[i] wr[ot]e for Aha' [line 19]].<sup>21</sup>

L. 4 זבן. The verb זבן is in *Pe'al*; the phrase means 'which he bought'. Cf. תרעה דביחה די זבנת, '[the ent]rance-gate of the house which I bought from Joseph son of Ruben' (XHev/Se pap and XHev/Se 8 3). It can also be understood in *Pa'el* meaning 'which he sold'; i.e. שטר בי זי זבן שטר, 'Document of a house which Bagazusha and Ybl sold to Ananiah' (Kraeling 3:25).

L. 4 יב ל. This form may be interpreted as perfect or participle. In Mur 32 2–3 יב appears in the participle: ויהב [אנ]ה כספא ליהודה זך כספא כספא זוזין מאה, 'and I am giving the aforementioned Judah . . . silver to a sum of 100 *zuzim*'. It appears that in the current document, too, the participle is used and that somebody gives something to Naḥunia Bar Levia.

L. 4 נחוניא. Naḥunia is the name of four different people mentioned in the Mishna.<sup>22</sup>

L. 4 לויא. The seller is referred to as 'the son of the Levite'. 'The Levite' appears on a fragment of a fence from the synagogue of Susiya.<sup>23</sup> Mas 577 mentions בר לוי, 'Son of Levi',<sup>24</sup> as does the lintel of the synagogue at Alma: יהי שלום על המקום הזה ועל כל מקומות עמו ישראל [א]מן סלה אנה יוסה בר לוי הלני, 'Peace be unto this place and unto all the places of his people Israel [A]men Sela. I am Yosa Bar Levi the Lev[ite] the artisan, who made [this lintel]'.<sup>25</sup>

L. 4 דא. The demonstrative pronoun is mentioned in line 2 of a badly preserved fragment written in Nabataean. The orthography דא, with suffix *'alep*, is the regular orthography in Nabataean, as noted by Milik,<sup>26</sup> being parallel to the Aramaic form דנה.

<sup>19</sup> F. M. Cross, 'Samaria Papyrus 1: An Aramaic Slave Conveyance of 335 B.C.E. Found in the Wādi ed-Dāliyah', *ErIsr* 18 (1985) 7\*–17\*.

<sup>20</sup> Y. Yadin and J. Naveh, 'The Aramaic and Hebrew Ostraca and Jar Inscriptions', in *Masada I—The Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963–1965—Final Reports* (Jerusalem, 1989) 56, pl. 47.

<sup>21</sup> H. Bauer and B. Meissner, 'Ein aramäischer Pachtvertrag aus dem 7. Jahre Darius' I', *Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philo.-hist. Kl.* (1936) 414–24. See B. Porten and A. Yardeni, *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt—Part 2: Contracts* (Jerusalem, 1989) text B.1.1, pp. 12–13.

<sup>22</sup> נחוניא בן קנה (*m. Ber.* 4:2), נחוניא בן גודנא (*m. Ed.* 7:9), נחוניא בן אלינתן איש כפר בבלי (*m. Šegal.* 5:1).

<sup>23</sup> [רב]י יודן לויא בר שמעון . . . מלך עלמה יתן ברכתה בעמלה. See J. Naveh, *On Stone and Mosaic* (Jerusalem, 1978) 121–2, no. 82. This is an Aramaic copy of an identical Hebrew inscription: יודן הלוי בר שמעון עשה את הן. See Naveh, *ibid.*, 120, no. 80.

<sup>24</sup> Yadin and Naveh, *Masada I*, 56.

<sup>25</sup> Naveh, *Stone*, 22–3, no. 3.

<sup>26</sup> Milik, *DyD* II, 171.

Ll. 5–8 After line 4 there is a gap and the names of the witnesses appear in the following lines with the word כחבה, which means 'signed by PN the witness', who is not one of the bearers of the deed.<sup>27</sup> Of the four witnesses' names, only בר remains in line 5.

L. 8 מִחֲנַיִם. The administrator of Simeon ben Kosiba, mentioned in P.Yadin 44, was named: יהונתן בן מחנאים, 'Yehonatan son of Mahanaim'.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> See the discussion by Y. Yadin, 'Expedition D—The Cave of the Letters', *IEJ* 12 (1962) 252–4.

<sup>28</sup> Yadin, 'Expedition D—The Cave of the Letters', 250.

### 3. Jericho papyrus Deed of Sale

(FIG. 18 AND PL. VIII)

Previous discussion: E. Eshel and H. Eshel, 'Fragments of Two Aramaic Documents which were Brought to Abi'or Cave during the Bar-Kokhba Revolt', *ErIsr* 23 (1992) 276–85 (Hebrew); A. Yardeni, 'The Script in Two Fragmentary Deeds from the Abi'or Cave', *ErIsr* 23 (1992) 327–30 (Hebrew).

#### *Physical Description*

THIS document was discovered on 22 June 1986 at locus 1 of the Abi'or Cave, in the dirt that had been piled up against the wall built in the cave's opening. Its present size is 5.7 x 8.7 cm. Since signatures appear on the *verso*, written perpendicular to the lines drawn on the *recto*, it is clearly a tied deed, in accordance with *m. B. Bat.* 10:1 (גם) מקושר עדין מאחריו, 'A tied (deed) is witnessed on its *verso*', and *y. Git.* 8:12, 49d פשוט עדין לרוחבו מקושר עדין לאורכו, 'A simple (deed) is witnessed along its width (on the *recto*), a tied (deed) is witnessed along its length (i.e. on the *verso*)'.

The upper and lower margins of this deed have not survived. The left margin of the document remains; its width is c.2.6 cm. The papyrus was treated and its colour varies from yellow to dark brown. The deed was written perpendicular to the fibres (including the end of the deed and the signatures) using black ink. The average letter height is 3 mm. The space between the lines is more or less uniform (between 15–18 mm).

On the *recto*, where the main text was written, survive the ends of seven lines. It is possible that this is the upper section of the open (lower) part of a tied deed, as the letters in the sealed part were usually very small, while the open section was written in a spacious script with generous line-width. Beneath the six more fully surviving lines there were, apparently, additional lines, as evidenced by the remains of two letters, both *lameds*, in line 7. On the *verso*, where the witnesses signed, are the remains of three names. There is a gap between lines 2 and 3, apparently indicating that at this point the signature of another witness appeared.

The surviving fragment of the deed mentions agricultural products connected to palm trees (leaves and perhaps branches) and chick-peas, a type of legume. It is unclear from the remains whether this is a bill of sale for agricultural produce or a description of a land deal. Yadin notes that 5/6 Hev 46, which deals with the division of an agricultural plot, is rich in detail regarding fruit farming at Ein Gedi.<sup>1</sup> It is possible that this document described a land deal in the Jericho area, and that various details concerning agriculture in Jericho are mentioned in passing in the description of the deal. In any case, the fragmentary state of the deed does not allow for conclusions to be drawn as to its nature.

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<sup>1</sup> Y. Yadin, 'Expedition D—The Cave of the Letters', *IEJ* 12 (1962) 255–7.



Mus. Inv. K10216  
IAA 700186\* (*recto*), 700187\* (*verso*)

*Recto*

אוטבן קבין חמשה	1
ודמי חצן כל בינא	2
חמצא קב ח / מן	3
אירותך <?> לֹ בַצְבוֹתְךָ	4
הן יתשוי לוח	5
זבין בשער	6
לן	7

*Verso*

בר שמון	1
מיא	2
בר חניא	3

TRANSLATION

*Recto*

1. ]and good, five qabs
2. ] and price of palm leaves, each palm bran[ch]
3. ]chick-peas, qab of wh[eat] 1 from
4. ]and your heir[ ] by your will
5. ]if it will be placed by
6. ]purchased at the rate of 20 (or: 2).
- 7 ] [ ] [

*Verso*

1. ]son of Simon
2. [PN son of ]my<sup>3</sup>
3. PN] son of Hanya [ ]

## COMMENTS

*Recto*

L. 1 [ו]סבן. Or read בַּסְבָּן. This is the plural of סב, 'good, fine'. Compare XHev/Se 26 3 סַעֲרִין סַבָּן, 'good barley';<sup>2</sup> to be compared with Mur 24 B 16–17 יִפְתָּה [ו]גְּקִיּוֹת סַבָּן. חַנְשִׁין יִפְתָּה can also be used as the money definition, i.e. Jer 7, upper version, line 2: סַכְסָף 20 ו-5 זֹוּיִן סַבִּין חַקְלִין סַכְסָף, 'twenty-five good full-weight *zuzin* (of) silver' (see Mur 20 4–5).

L. 1 בֵּית [ו]לֵע חַנְשִׁין סַאִין תַּלְתָּה וְקַבִּין תַּלְתָּה 5. Compare XHev/Se 50 5.

L. 2 וְיֹמֵי. The form is the construct state of דְּמִין, 'and the value of'. Another possible reading is וְיֹמֵי, 'and the days of' but since the following word is חַצֵּן, וְיֹמֵי seems preferable.

L. 2 חַצֵּן. This is the plural form of חוֹץ, meaning 'palm leaves'.<sup>3</sup> חוֹץ is mentioned in an Elephantine deed of relinquishment (Cowley 20, *TAD* II B2.9 5–6) in a list of the properties included in the demand for relinquishment: מַאֲנֵי עֵק וְחוֹצֵן עֵבֹר וְאַחֲרָן, 'wooden and palm-leaf utensils, grain and other (things)', and similarly in a marriage document (*TAD* II B3.8 17) חוֹצֵן חֹדֶה לְבִשָּׂה 1 וְיִ חוֹצֵן חֹדֶה לְבִשָּׂה, 'a palm leaf chest (?) for her garments'.<sup>4</sup>

The Leiden manuscript of *y. Šabb.* 7:2, 10c reads הַהֵן דְּנִפְסִי סִיב הוֹצִין גּוּמָא, 'whoever cuts palm leaves (or) papyrus',<sup>5</sup> but a Geniza text reads חוֹצִין.<sup>6</sup> The Aramaic חוֹצִין appears in the Babylonian Talmud, contrasting with חוֹצִין found in the Geniza text of the Jerusalem Talmud, as well as the Elephantine papyri and Abi'or texts.<sup>7</sup> On the basis of the occurrences of this form in the Elephantine documents and the Talmud, it seems to refer to palm leaves as raw material for making baskets and boxes.

L. 2 כָּל בֵּיתָא בֵּין. כל בֵּיתָא means a palm branch.<sup>8</sup> Kraus notes that the word originates in Coptic,<sup>9</sup> and is found in Greek in the form βᾶτον-βᾶις.<sup>10</sup> The word is mentioned, among other sources, in 1 Macc 13:51,<sup>11</sup> and appears in the Palestinian Aramaic sermon attributed to Rabbi Avin.<sup>12</sup>

מהו נעימות בימינך נצח, אמר רבי אבין זה לולב כמי שהוא נוצח ונוסל ביין. משל לשנים שנכנסו אצל הדיין וליה אגן ידעין מאן הוא נצח, אלא מאן דנסב באיין (ביין: MS Paris 149) בידיה אגן ידעין דהוא נצוחייתא

What are 'pleasantries in the right-hand of the victor'—Rabbi Avin says it is the *lulav* (palm frond) like [the way] he who wins raises a palm branch. Parable of two who went before a judge and we do not know who is victorious. But one who raises a palm branch, we know that he is victorious.<sup>13</sup>

It is possible that חַצֵּן and כָּל בֵּיתָא are different terms for palm branches (with כָּל בֵּיתָא explaining חַצֵּן), but it is also possible that the terms refer to different parts of the palm tree.

<sup>2</sup> A. Yardeni, *DJD* XXVII, 96; see XHev/Se 32 + 4Q347 5: [פ]לגות פְּבֵא, 'h]alf(?) the good', *ibid.*, 107.

<sup>3</sup> Compare Syriac cognate ܚܘܨܝܢ. Cf. C. Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum*, 2nd ed. (Halle, 1928) 222; I. Löw, *Die Flora der Juden*, vol. II (Hildesheim, 1967) 328–9.

<sup>4</sup> Compare Cowley 15, *TAD* II B2.6 16: חוֹצֵן חֹדֶה 1 וְיִ חוֹצֵן חֹדֶה, 'One new palm-leaf box (?)'.

<sup>5</sup> So *y. Šabb.* 8:2, 11b: חוֹצֵן כְּרִי לַעֲשׂוֹת אֹזֶן לְקַפֵּיפָה מִצְרִית: 'Palm leaves to make handles for an Egyptian basket'.

<sup>6</sup> L. Ginzberg, *Yerushalmi Fragments from the Genizah* (New York, 1909) 85.

<sup>7</sup> M. Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine Period* (Ramat-Gan, 1990) 192.

<sup>8</sup> Sokoloff, *Dictionary*, 95.

<sup>9</sup> S. Krauss, *Griechische und Lateinische Lehnwörter im Talmud, Midrasch und Targum* (Berlin, 1898) 136–7. See further Löw, *Flora*, 328.

<sup>10</sup> The Greek form βᾶτον-βᾶις is based on the Coptic form 'bai'. See H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, and H. S. Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford, 1940) 303.

<sup>11</sup> μετὰ ἀνέσσης καὶ βᾶτων, 'with praise and palm-branches'. See John 12:13 ἔλαβον τὰ βᾶτα τῶν φοιτῶντων, 'and they took in their hands palm branches'.

<sup>12</sup> It seems that R. Avin is playing on his own name.

<sup>13</sup> *Lev. Rab.* 30 (Margulies 694:5–7); *Pesikta de Rab Kahana*, Weleqaḥtem 406:6–8; *Yalqut Shimoni*, Lev. 651 (Hayman II, 730); See A. Kohut, *Aruch Completum*, vol. II (2nd ed.; Vindobona, 1926) 57, s.v. בֵּיין; vol. I, 242–3, s.v. אִיפְרָפּוּס.

L. 3 אַחמצא. Or חמצה, 'chick-pea' (*Cicer arietinum*) written as חמצי in *b. Hul.* 52a.<sup>14</sup>

L. 3 / קב ח. There are documents in which the first letter is used as an abbreviation of an amount of silver in shekels (ש), quarters (ר), or *maṭl.*<sup>15</sup> In the Elephantine deeds, *het* is used as an abbreviation for the *halor* (one-fortieth of a shekel).<sup>16</sup> However, since in this deed a dry measure precedes the *het*, it seems that it serves here as an abbreviation for חנשין.<sup>17</sup>

In deeds from Murabbaʿat, wheat is usually measured by *kor*, *seah*, or *qab* (Mur 24; XHev/Se 50). However, in an Elephantine document which deals with a legal claim, a *qab* of barley is mentioned as a fine: שערן קב 1 לפרס 1 כל ירחן ושנן, 'One *qab* of barley per 1 *peras* all the months and years'.<sup>18</sup>

L. 4 אירוחך. 'And your heir'. This word was written on a separate fragment and identified as part of this document by A. Yardeni, who suggested it be placed close to the beginning of line 4. The same orthography is found in *Tg. Neof. Gen* 27:41 שנאיה רביחה ירוחה, 'the enemy of the household is the heir'.<sup>19</sup>

L. 4 בצבוחך. The root צבי is commonly used in deeds of sale, meaning 'by your will'. Both the heir and the buyer's will are part of the formula of deeds of sale, such as XHev/Se 50 (9)12–(10)13: לעלם רשאין זבניא די מן עלא באחרא דך וירחהן למקנה ולמזבנה ולמעבר בה כל די יצבון buyers, who are (mentioned) above, regarding that place, and their inheritors, to buy and to sell and to do with it whatever they desire'.<sup>20</sup>

L. 5 הן [. The word 'if' appears here at the start of a conditional sentence.

L. 5 יחשוי. The root is in the *Itpeʿal*, 3rd masc. sing., cf. *Tg. Neof. Exod* 21:30. If the first letter is *yod*, then it is in the imperfect tense; if it is an *alep*, then it is perfect. It seems preferable to read it as *yod*. The *Itpeʿal* stem usually shows metathesis of the *taw* of the stem and the first root letter *šin* (or any other sibilant). It is possible that יחשוי is an additional example of such forms lacking metathesis noted by Kutscher: יחשמע in the Sefire inscription,<sup>21</sup> והחשרר עמה in a Bar Kokhba letter.<sup>22</sup>

L. 5 לוח. Generally the word means 'to', but at times in the *targumim* it renders Hebrew אצל, e.g. 1 Sam 17:30 ויסב מאצלו, *Tg. Neb.* ad loc.: ואסתחר מלוחיה; also Gen 39:15 ויעזב בגדו אצלי, *Tg. Onq.:* ושבקיה ללבשיה לוחי. It is possible that following לוח יחשוי (i.e. at the start of line 6), the name of the person with whom the item was to be left appeared.

L. 6 זבין [. This is a passive participle meaning 'bought'.

L. 6 2/20 בשער. This probably means בשער, 'market rate' as found in *m. Bab. Meṣ.* 5:1 לקח הימנו חטים מדינר זהב הכור וכן השער, 'He bought wheat from him at one gold dinar for a *kor*, for that

<sup>14</sup> See C. Kohut, *Aruch Completum*, vol. III, 431: 'a kind of lentil'; Löw, *Flora*, 234.

<sup>15</sup> See Jer 1.

<sup>16</sup> See *TAD* II B3.8 15: 20 כסף ח.

<sup>17</sup> So also on Ostrakon 30, 32 from 4th century BCE Tel Beer-Sheva. See J. Naveh, 'The Aramaic Ostraca from Tel Beer-Sheba (Seasons 1971–1976)', *Tel Aviv* 6 (1979) 184, pl. 25.

<sup>18</sup> *TAD* II B7.1 8 (= Cowley 45).

<sup>19</sup> See Sokoloff, *Aramaic Dictionary*, 245.

<sup>20</sup> Yardeni, *DyD* XXVII 127–8; see also XHev/Se 9 7; 50 13; 4Q346 2.

<sup>21</sup> J. Fitzmyer regards יחשמע in Sefire I A 29 as an *Itpeʿal* without metathesis. See J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefire*, rev. ed. (BibOr 19/A; Rome, 1995) 44, 87. See also E. Y. Kutscher, *A History of Aramaic* (Jerusalem, 1971) 33 (Hebrew).

<sup>22</sup> On והחשרר עמה in 5/6Hev 53, see Y. Yadin, 'Expedition D', *IEJ* 11 (1961) 43, and Kutscher's discussion, 'The Language of the Hebrew and Aramaic Letters of Bar Kokhba and his Contemporaries', *Leshonenu* 25 (1961) 122–3 (Hebrew). In the Bible, there is a single instance where metathesis has not occurred in the *Hitpeʿal*: והחשוטמנה (Jer 49:3). In the Qumran scrolls, compare 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> for Isa 29:9 והחשעשעו and 1QH<sup>a</sup> VIII 9 יחשגו; and see E. Y. Kutscher, *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll (1QIsa<sup>a</sup>)* (Leiden, 1974) 346. Nevertheless, as shown recently by Morgenstern, 'in a number of cases, the Nabataean inscriptions contain verbs, apparently in the *Itpeʿal* and *Itpeʿal* form, in which the metathesis expected when the first root letter is a sibilant has not occurred'; see M. Morgenstern, 'The History of the Aramaic Dialects in the Light of Discoveries from the Judean Desert: The Case of Nabataean', *ErIsr* 26 (1999) 139\*.



was the rate'. In the Mishna, we also find כשער הזול, 'according to the lowest rate' (*m. Bab. Meṣ* 5:8); and כשער הגבוה, 'according to the highest rate' (*ibid.* 5:7), i.e. according to the lowest and highest rates acceptable in the market. Compare Jer 7, lower version line 8: כשער סאן, '(for) the value equal to the market price of the *s*<sup>n</sup>.

*Verso*

L. 1 שמון שמון. שמון is the name שמעון, with the omission of the *ayin*. In 1 Chr 4:20 the name שימון appears; there is no epigraphic evidence for the name שמון.<sup>23</sup> שמון appears in an inscription from Palmyra.<sup>24</sup> There is epigraphic evidence for the form סימון,<sup>25</sup> which is generally regarded as the Greek version of שמעון, though there are claims that Simon was a Greek name adopted by Jews because of its phonetic proximity to שמעון.<sup>26</sup> סימון also appears in Rabbinic literature.<sup>27</sup>

L. 2 מִיָּא. This name may be completed as מִיָּא[נח], מִיָּא[של], or מִיָּא[יר].

L. 3 הַנִּיָּא. הַנִּיָּא (perhaps a hypocorism for הַחוֹנִי?) appears twice in the inscription on the Bnei Hezir Tomb from the Valley of Jehoshaphat,<sup>28</sup> on an ossuary from the Kidron Valley,<sup>29</sup> and possibly in a fragmentary list from Murabba'at.<sup>30</sup> The name חַנָּא appears as the name of a *tanna* in *b. Ketub.* 10b and on an ossuary discovered in Shu'afat. A בר הַנִּיָּא is mentioned in a Palmyrene inscription.

<sup>23</sup> Although J. B. Frey, *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaicarum*, vol. II (Rome, 1952) 257, no. 1246, mentions an ossuary bearing the inscription שמון בושון, it seems that Frey's reading is merely a printing error. Sukenik read it as שמון בן שלמו; see E. L. Sukenik, 'Notes on the Jewish Graffiti of Beth-Phage', *JPOS* 4 (1924) 171–4. But Milik correctly read the same inscription as שמעון בן שלמו. See J. T. Milik, 'Le courvercle de Bethphagé, in *Hommage à André Dupont-Sommer* (Paris, 1971) 75–94. See further J. Naveh, 'Nameless People', *IEJ* 40 (1990) 111–12.

<sup>24</sup> A. D. Mardtman, 'Neue Beiträge zur Kunde Palmyras', *Sitzungsberichte der Königlichen Bayrischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Munich, 1875) n. 49; S. A. Cook, *A Glossary of the Aramaic Inscriptions* (Cambridge, 1898) 115. See further the name בר אבא in *b. Ketub.* 23a.

<sup>25</sup> Yadin and Naveh, *Masada* I, 23, no. 415 (סמון), and pages 53–4, nos. 561 and 564 (סימו). Also J. Naveh, 'The Ossuary Inscriptions from Giv'at ha-Mivtar', *IEJ* 20 (1970) 33–4 (סמון).

<sup>26</sup> M. Cassuto-Salzman, 'Greek Names among the Jews', *ErIsr* 3 (1954) 186–90 (Hebrew).

<sup>27</sup> Examples have been gathered in A. Ovadia, 'A Jewish Sarcophagus at Tiberias', *IEJ* 22 (1972) 229–32.

<sup>28</sup> See Frei, *Corpus*, 324–5, no. 1394.

<sup>29</sup> E. L. Sukenik, 'A Jewish Tomb in the Kedron Valley', *PEQ* 69 (1937) 126–7.

<sup>30</sup> Mur 10 I 1, according to Milik's reading. The reading is, however, somewhat doubtful.



## 4–5e. Jericho pap gr (P.Jericho 4–5e gr)

(PLATES IX–X)

THIS GROUP of fifteen fragments, labelled frgs. a–o, was found in 1986.<sup>1</sup> Frgs. a–m seem to belong to six different documents, which are designated here as Jer 4–5e and grouped accordingly in groups I–VI. Jer 4 and 5e contain legible texts, whereas Jer 5a–d pap gr are fragments from different papyri and do not yield any significant texts. Frgs. n and o are too small to be integrated into any of the groups presented in TABLE 1.

### *Physical Description*

The measurements and division of the fragments in this group are as follows:

TABLE 1: *Grouping and Measurements of Fragments*

Jer pap	Group	Frg.	Width (cm)	Height (cm)
4	I	a	6	2.1
		b	8.5	6
		c	4	1
		d	4	1
		f	1	1
5e	II	e	5	3.5
5a	III	g	0.5	1
		h	4	1
		i	1.5	1
		j	1.5	2.2
5b	IV	k	3	2.2
5c	V	l	3	2
5d	VI	m	4.5	0.5
		n	1.7	1
		o	2.6	0.6

<sup>1</sup> Thanks are due to N. Lewis and W. Brashear for their assistance with the reading of some of the fragments. The Institute for Research and Development (Mofet) of the Department for Teacher Training Colleges, the Ministry of Education, Culture, and Sports, and the Achva Academic College granted generous scholarships which provided the needed time to carry out this study. Special thanks go to Mrs. S. Cohen, chief librarian at Achva Academic College, and her staff for their tireless efforts to locate relevant material for this research.





#### 4. Jericho pap Deed of Sale or Lease? gr (P. Jericho 4 gr)

(PLATE IX)

ALL FIVE fragments of Jer 4 apparently belonged to the left side of the papyrus sheet on which the document was inscribed. The left margin is clearly visible and measures about 1–1.4 cm in width. The upper and lower parts of the papyrus are not preserved and it is impossible to assess the number of lines that have been lost. The fibres on the *recto* were used as a guide for placing and numbering the fragments in the present reconstruction. The placement of frg. a at the beginning of the reconstructed document is not at all certain. Moreover, it is impossible to determine the number of lines lost between frgs. a and b, and between frgs. c and d. No remnants of any writing can be detected on frg. f. Nevertheless, it was assigned to this group on account of the similarity of its fibres and colour to the rest of the group's fragments. It might have been a continuation of lines 11–12 in the original papyrus sheet. The right side of Jer 4 was blackened, perhaps as a result of fire.<sup>1</sup> This may be the explanation for the disappearance of the whole right side of the original papyrus, the dimensions of which cannot be determined.

The fragments are generally dark brown with occasional light patches. A few lacunae, together with holes made by worms, can be traced. The ink is dark, having faded in some places. The hand is ligated and very hard to read. The text is written against the fibres, which is a regular feature of double documents from the Judaean Desert. Yet, there is no proof anywhere on these fragments to suggest that Jer 4 is a double document.<sup>2</sup> The *recto* is blank. The measurements of the fragments and their state of preservation make it impossible to detect any signs of folds except, perhaps, for the join-lines between fragments.<sup>3</sup> The original papyrus sheet was apparently not of a very high quality.

Thirteen fragmentary lines are inscribed on the main parts of this document, in addition to which the remnants of another four can be traced. In all, Jer 4 might have been more than seventeen lines long.

A few terms seem to reveal the nature of this document as a deed of sale or lease: the fragmentary καθαρο... in line 8 and ἀπὸ νότου[ and εἰς ἀνατολήν in lines 10–11. The name Judah appears in line 12. This person may be one of the parties to the transaction dealt

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<sup>1</sup> The fragments of P. Jer 4–5e gr were found in the vicinity of a cooking facility at the entrance of the cave. See H. Eshel and H. Misgav, 'A Document from the Fourth Century B.C.E. from Ketef Jericho', *Tarbiz* 56 (1987) 463, and H. Eshel, 'Finds and Documents from a Cave at Ketef Yeriho', *Qadmoniot* 21 (1988) 21, 23 (both Hebrew). The Greek fragments and the fourth-century document were all found at the same place (locus 1).

<sup>2</sup> For double documents see E. Koffmahn, *Die Doppelurkunden aus der Wüste Juda* (Leiden, 1968) 11–12; N. Lewis, *The Documents from the Bar-Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters. Greek Papyri* (Jerusalem, 1989) 6–10; *DjD* XXVII, 11, 141. For examples of Aramaic double documents in this volume, see Jer 3, 7.

<sup>3</sup> For the folding methods employed in the Babatha papyri see Y. Yadin, *Bar-Kokhba: The Rediscovery of the Legendary Hero of the Second Jewish Revolt against Rome* (New York, 1971) 222ff.

with in this document, perhaps even the owner or one of the owners of the property in question here.

Dates were not preserved on the documents and fragments in this group of papyri. For this point, see the GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

Mus. Inv. K10210, K28556

IAA 649788\* (frg. a), 649789\* (frgs. b-d)

#### Frg. a

- 1           ...[ *c.10 letters* ]...[  
 2           'εμέ ..... ἄλλου *c.*[  
 3           γραπται καί κ...[  
 4           .κα.....τε...]

#### Frgs. b + c

- 5           *c.5 letters* ].αζ τιο...[ *c.3 letters* ] τι.ψ. [  
 6           οἴκου μήσου ς...[  
 7           περὶ τοῦ προγεγραμμένου  
 8           καὶ καθαρ... ἐγ μέρους μί  
 9           ἐγ..... ἀρχομενί  
 10          [ *c.8 letters* ] η..ρα.ω ἀπὸ νότου  
 11          καμ..... εἰς ἀνατολήν  
 12          Ἰούδου Ὠφαιου τοῦ χ.ι  
 13          ..... μέρους [  
 14          ἰδίου μέρους τοῦ χ.ι

## Frg. d

- 15           *c.12 letters* ]....[  
 16           *c.12 letters* ]..ουρ.ιπ.[  
 17           *c.12 letters* ]..[

## NOTES ON READINGS

Ll. 2-3 ἔμέ ..... ἄλλου c..[ / γραπται. I read two words (ἔμέ, ἄλλου) in line 2 and part of a word at the beginning of line 3 (γραπται). The reading might have been γέγραπται or ἀπογέγραπται. Nothing from the rest of the lines is legible.

## TRANSLATION

6. ... of the middle of a house (?) ...[  
 7. concerning ... the above-written[  
 8. ... and free (of) ... from the part of[  
 9. from ... [   
 10. ... to the south[  
 11. ... eastwa[rd  
 12. of Judas son of Ophaios (?) grandson of Ch[  
 13. ... of part [   
 14. ... of private part of Ch .[

## COMMENTS

L. 6 οἴκου μῆσου. The house alluded to here was probably part of the property dealt with in this document.

L. 8 καθαρ.... A form of καθαροποιεῖν should be expected here as in Lewis, *Documents* 20, line 15 = 38. However, not enough space (*c.*3 letters) is available here, which makes such a completion impossible to fit in. At any rate, if the reading of the extant text is correct, it appears that the tenant/seller of a certain property undertakes to transfer it to its old/new owner free of any debts or payments. It is also not to be mortgaged or under any obligation whatsoever. This stipulation is common to leasing and sale contracts from Egypt and from the Judaeen Desert.<sup>4</sup>

L. 10-11 ἀπὸ νότου[ / εἰς ἀνατολήν[. These phrases show that the context is a description of the abutters of property (γείτωνες) in question. For such descriptions, see Lewis, *Documents*, 20, lines 30-31; Cotton, *XHev/Se* 64 a 9, 30 in *DyD* XXVII and note on p. 217.

L. 12 Ἰούδου Ὀφαιου τοῦ χι. 'Judas son of Ophaios? grandson of ...'. The character *chi* at the end of the line probably began the name of Judas's grandfather. In place of the *omega* commencing Ὀφαιου, a *kappa* and an *omicron* may be possible, changing this name to Κοφαιου. This perhaps matches the Hebrew name כּוּפַי.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> See Lewis, *Documents*, and J. C. Greenfield *apud* Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 145, a note on כּוּפַי in Aramaic and Nabataean. For examples from Egypt, see P.Oxy. III 502, 32-33 (CE 164); P. Mert II 76, 23-24 (CE 181).

<sup>5</sup> For the Hebrew name כּוּפַי (Greek, Πέτρος), see M. Cassuto-Salzmänn, 'Greek Names Among the Jews, *ErIsr* 3 (1954) 189 and n. 58 (Hebrew).





## 5a–d. Jericho pap Unidentified Text(s) gr (P. Jericho 5a–d gr)

(PLATE X)

THE FRAGMENTS forming Jer 5a–d (*olim* frgs. g–m) are all small. The script is at times heavy and thick and, as a result, rather hard to read. Nevertheless, some characters and even complete words are distinguishable here and there. For example, in Jer 5b the probable beginnings of κώμη (line 2) and χώραν (line 5) are found. The remnants of script on frgs. i and l are illegible. Jer 5b measures 2.2 x 3 cm and frg. h measures 4 x 1 cm. The rest are smaller.

Frgs. g + j (group III) seem to belong together. The other two, frgs. h and i, seem to belong in this group, but too little of the original has survived to locate them within it.

The one-line text of frg. m may have run as follows: 'I [NN] son/daughter of Phesos . . .'. Could the signatory's father, Phesos, have borne the Hebrew name פזי, 'Pazi'?

Mus. Inv. K10213

IAA 649794\*, 1364/99\* (Jer 5a), 651343\* (Jer 5d)

### Jer 5a

- 1           ].[
- 2           ]οι καὶ τῶϊ κλοῦ εἰρο.[
- 3           ]τι σοι κα    ]τωι[
- 4           ]c.11 letters[

## Jer 5b

- 1           ]μ[  
 2           ]οι κϱ [c.4 letters] κώμη[  
 3           ]..ων ..ροι [  
 4           ]...οι ..γα.αι....[  
 5           ]χε χώραν..[  
 6           ].μ..[

## Jer 5c

- 1           ]νου υτ c.12 letters[  
 2           ]ον ει υσ.μ c.10 letters[  
 3           ]χοι..[c.5 letters].[

## Jer 5d

- 1           ...πταϝ Φεζου[

5e. Jericho pap Transaction Concerning Seeds gr (P. Jericho 5e gr)

(PLATE X)

THIS DOCUMENT probably deals with the selling, buying, or borrowing of seeds, as σπέρματα in line 3 might indicate. The papyrus has deteriorated significantly and it is now impossible to determine whether σπέρματα relates to a loan, contract, receipt, or document confirming any other kind of transaction (see COMMENTS on line 3). The original document was apparently more than six lines long as this fragment shows. The full extent of loss from this papyrus sheet cannot be determined, although it is clear that its upper and lower sides and both margins are missing. The upper *verso* is somewhat blackened, seemingly from fire, as in the case of Jer 4 gr. The ink is abraded in some places. The hand is fine, ligated, and easy to read. The text is written along the fibres. The *recto* is blank.

Mus. Inv. K10213  
IAA 649794

1 ][  
2 ]ι δι' ἄλλω[ν  
3 ]κ.δ.α( ) καὶ σπέρματα  
4 *c.3 letters* τὸ] ἀγορασμὰ κατ' ἄλλου .[  
5 ] τοῦ .χι.ρ ὅτι..κ.σ.[  
6 *c.3 letters* εὐ]ν τῶι νῦν οὔσαις .[

NOTES ON READINGS

L. 2 δι' ἄλλω[ν. Another possible reading is ]ιδία μ.[.

L. 5 τοῦ. Following the genitive form of the definite article a name might have been written. Three letters are legible: *chi*, *iota*, and *rho*. The remains of two additional letters can be seen. The suggested reading is Ἀχιωρ, though this is extremely tentative.

TRANSLATION

2. ]... through other[s
3. ]... and see[ds
4. ... the] merchandise (which was bought) after the other (thing?) [



5. ]... of ... that ... [

6. ... wit]h the (things) which are present ... now ... [

COMMENTS

L. 3 σπέρ[ματα. Seeds and other agricultural products were used at times to replace currency as a means of payment, and also as pledges against loans.<sup>1</sup>

L. 5 .חי.ρ. The name 'Αχιωρ is reconstructed here extremely tentatively. Even if it is the correct reading, the context is uncertain. A certain 'Αχιωρ, a commander of the army of Ammonites, is mentioned in Jdt 5:5.

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<sup>1</sup> For loans of seeds in Roman Egypt (private and governmental), see A. C. Johnson, 'Roman Egypt', in *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, vol. II, ed. by T. Frank (New Jersey, 1959) 460–66; for seeds used as a means of payment, see the leasing contract (CE 133) published in *DJD* II, 125 (Mur 24 B 15–18); for seeds used as a pledge, see H. Eshel, 'Fragments of Two Aramaic Documents Which Were Brought to the Abior Cave during the Bar-Kochba Revolt', *ErIsr* 23 (1992) 279 (Hebrew); for the trading and loaning of seeds in the times of the Mishna and the Talmud, see Y. Feliks, *Agriculture in the Land of Israel in the Time of the Bible, the Mishna and the Talmud*, 2nd ed. (Jerusalem, 1990) 110–11 (Hebrew).

## 6. Jericho papyrus Unidentified Texts ar

(PLATE XI)

IN ADDITION to Jer 1, five fragments dating to the fourth century BCE were found. Frg. 5 of this document was discovered in the Abi'or Cave, while frgs. 1–4 were found outside the cave, lying above the Roman period documents.

Mus. Inv. K29639 (frgs. 1–4), K10214-A (frg. 5)  
IAA 391931

### Frg. 1

]o[ 1

]ח[ 2

#### NOTES ON READINGS

L. 1 This line contains the remains of a base of a letter which cannot be deciphered.

L. 2 Only the heads of two letters are visible.

### Frg. 2

]o[ 1

]ב[ 2

### Frg. 3

]חבו[ 1

## TRANSLATION

1. ]you will buy (or sell)[

## COMMENTS

- L. 1 תזבחן]. This seems to be *Pe'al* or *Pa'el* in the 2nd masc. pl. imperfect.

## Frg. 4

בְּקִים]	1
לא תן	2
לן	3

## TRANSLATION

1.  
2. Do not[  
3.

## Frg. 5

]יהב	1
------	---

## NOTES ON READINGS

The script of this fragment differs from that of frgs. 1–4; note especially the *bet*.

L. 1 יהב]. The surviving letters reveal an earlier hand than that of Jer 1, evidenced by the diagonal head of the *he*.

## TRANSLATION

1. He g]ave [

## 7. Jericho papyrus Sale of Date Crop ar

(FIGS. 19–20 AND PLS. XI–XII)

THIS is a double document written on papyrus. When the document was found, the upper version was still rolled and tied with a string. The words with which the lower version begins, בעשרין וחמשה לטבת, 'On the twenty-fifth of the month of Tevet', could be read clearly (see pl. XII).

Based on the inscription in the first line, this document dates to the year 84 CE, which was the third year of Domitianus' reign.<sup>1</sup> The upper version consists of three lines, while the lower version has eight lines. On the *verso*, remains of six or seven signatures can be detected but only three can be read even in part.

### *Physical Description*

The upper and lower margins have survived in part; the right margin has also been preserved. The left margin is preserved only at the end of line 7. Together, these margins enable us to reconstruct the original size of the document.

An interesting scribal mark, consisting of wavy vertical lines, is found in the last line of the lower version. Such a sign has not been found, to our knowledge, in any Aramaic documents from the Bar-Kokhba period, but was commonly used in Greek papyri found in Egypt. This mark was probably made in order to prevent the addition of any details after the document was signed. The document is 15 cm wide and 16 cm high.

### *Palaeography*

The document is written in an extremely cursive script, with the exception of the first line of the lower version, where the scribe made an effort to write in larger characters, which are therefore more formal in their shape. Nevertheless, the second line reverts to a cursive hand. The upper version is written in an even more pronounced cursive script. Many of the letters appear almost identical to one another, rendering the deciphering of entire words difficult.

The middle lines in the open section (lines 4–6) were more damaged than others. Some letters have completely eroded, further hampering decipherment.

The script is similar to that of the documents found in the Judaean Desert dating to the post-Herodian period (end of the first to the beginning of the second century CE),

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<sup>1</sup> A. Yardeni read דמטסס קסר in Jer 9 11, and reconstructed: Domitianus Caesar. Nevertheless, H. Misgav reads in Jer 9 אגריפה למרן ארבע ועשרים, 'Year 24 to our lord Agrippa'. If he is correct, then this deed is dated to year 24 of Agrippa II, that is 84/85 CE. This dating formula may suggest that this deed was written on the east side of the Jordan river, since Flavius suggests that Nero gave Agrippa II Livias as well as fourteen villages east of Jericho (*Ant.* 20:159). Thus, Jer 7 and Jer 9 were written in the same year.



but some unique letter-shapes are found. Such is the case, for example, with the letter 'ayin (e.g. in בעשרין, line 1 of the open section) which has a straight diagonal open to the left, with no continuation of the small bottom line to the right. This style can be characterized as a kind of formalization of the formal type, which is written as a bow open at the top and connected to the left, by enlarging and straightening the letter.

*Tet* has three strokes; its right downstroke does not extend beyond the meeting point with the base of the letter.

*Kap* presents a special problem; it is shaped like the number three, if ככרין in line 4 is a correct reading. This type of *kap* has no parallel in other documents of the period, a fact which raises the possibility of reading it as a number, perhaps twenty, though such a sign for a number also has no parallels.

In some cases, *mem* is closed, forming a full circle; sometimes it is open wide at the top and almost indistinguishable from *samek*, e.g. in וחמשה in line 1 of the lower version. This style of *mem* can be defined as cursive, with the scribe not attempting to give it a formal shape.

*Sin*, which occurs a few times in this document, also has a unique shape. The two arms (or: heads) written on the left perpendicular arm—or sometimes to its left—are connected to each other. In some cases, the letter has an additional subsidiary line, which connects the small right baseline to the left leg, making a zigzag shape.

### *Contents*

P.Yadin 21 and 22 from Babatha's Archive pertain to the purchase of a date crop.<sup>2</sup> One is the seller's copy and the other is that of the buyer. Babatha sold the date crops of three date orchards while they were still on the tree, ready to be harvested, to a man named Simon. The tenant, Simon son of Joshua, picked the dates for himself, paying an agreed amount of dry dates which were half the weight of wet dates, as follows: forty-two talents of first and second 'split' dates (namely of the best quality), as well as two *kors* and five *se'ahs* of Syrian and Na'aran dates (which are of lower quality). P.Yadin 21 and 22 can be defined as a combination of a sale of crop from the trees and a lease. The overriding concern of the buyer was to purchase the fruit and to hold the owner of the field responsible for any damage which might happen to the fruit while still on the tree. The seller, on the other hand, was interested in considering it as a deed of lease, placing responsibility for any such damage on the buyer.

Jer 7 appears to be a type of deed somewhat related to P.Yadin 21 and 22. Yehoseph son of Yehoḥanan, who was authorized to manage the orphan's property, sold the fruits of the date orchard, in the amount of four talents of dates.

The buyer, Yehoḥanan son of Yehoseph, paid twenty dinarii, of which the seller, Yehoseph, has to pay the 'money of the orphans' (דמי יחמין), as agreed upon earlier. In addition, the buyer Yehoḥanan agreed to pay five baskets of dates later on.

<sup>2</sup> N. Lewis, *The Documents from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters: Greek Papyri* (Jerusalem, 1989) 94–101.

After Yehoḥanan pays the seller, here named ‘the one who was authorized to manage the orphan’s property’ (אֲנֹשֶׁלֶר דִּיחַמָּא; lines 7–8), he is allowed to do with the fruits whatever he so wishes, including selling them.

In P.Yadin 21 and 22, Babatha sold dates in September, just as they were beginning to ripen on the trees, while the Abiʿor cave document was signed at the end of Tevet, in January, long before the date harvest season in August and September.

The size of the palm orchard in Jer 7 6 is designated as אַרְבַּע כְּכַרִּין, ‘palm orchard of four talents’. An orchard of four talents, which produces about 100 kg (= 455 lbs) of fruit, is relatively small, measuring about one hundred square metres.

As for the five baskets of dates, it is not known how much a basket weighed, so there is no way of calculating the percentage of dates being paid to the seller.

Jer 7 seems to record a purchase of dates rather than the sale of a field, since land sale documents designate a piece of land by its size as well as by bordering lands. In the remains of Jer 7 no such formulas are attested. As in deeds of lease or purchase of crops, no bordering lands are mentioned.<sup>3</sup>

Mus. Inv. K29640

IAA 391934, 649798\* (*recto*), 649799\* (*verso*)

### *Recto*

#### Upper Version

○○○[>(?)<]○○○[>(?)<]○○○	טס	ב-20 ו-5 לשבת שנת 3 מרן	1	
[	]	○○○○ כסף	20 ו-5 זוזין טבין תקלין	2
		○○○○○○	למסק לך סלין תמרין למנתן	3

#### Lower Version

		בעשרין וחמשה לשבת [שנת תלת ד'מטס ק]סר	1
		מל"ז זבן יהוסף בר יהוחנן מן [ליהוחנן בר] יהוסף מחרן	2
		בר יהוחנן רב [תמרין]	3

<sup>3</sup> See, e.g. Mur 24: ‘The land which is mine by my lease, in the town of Naḥash’; cf. Milik’s comments on Mur 24 in R. de Vaux and J. T. Milik, *Les Grottes de Murabbaʿat* (DJD II; Oxford: Clarendon, 1961) 122–34. In P.Yadin 21 and 22, only the titles of the properties were given, such as ‘pherora orchard’, with no further designations.

4 ככרין ארבע למינתן לך כלקדמן [ יהוחנן בר(?) ] יהוסף בכסף זב'ינה [ 5  
 5 20 כסף בזבנה מהן דמי יתמין כמקדמן משון 3 ב' ]  
 6 גן תמרין ככרין ארבע דכ' דל' שתמס' לך סלין תמרין  
 7 חמשה שטרא דכ ולמסק ללא דמן [ ] מן 2 ת [ל]אנט[לר  
 8 דיתמא רשי למזבן כל דבעלם דמיא כשער סין ג

Verso

1  
2  
3

1 יהוסף בר יהוחנן [ע]ל [נפ]שה

2

3 יהוחנן בר [ר] שמן [שהד(?) ]

4

5 יהוסף

#### NOTES ON READINGS

##### Recto

##### Upper Version

L. 1 20-ו-5 לטבת. The date is given according to the Babylonian name of the month, Tevet. The days are indicated by numbers, in contrast to the lower version, which employs words (בעשרין וחמשה, line 1).

L. 1 שנה. Due to the rapid writing, the scribe mistakenly wrote the *nun* above the line instead of below, so that it resembles a *lamed*. Clearly, though, שנה, 'year' should be read, as appears in the lower part.

L. 1 3. The third year was written as numbers, in contrast to the lower version, where words are used (שנת חלה), line 1).

##### Lower Version

L. 2 The first word in the line starts with *mem* and *lamed*, which are followed by one (maybe *šade*) or two undecipherable letters.

L. 4 ככרין. For the shape of the first two letters, see PALAEOGRAPHY. Although the first two letters are clear, their decipherment is uncertain, for they can either be read as two *kaps* or as the number 20. Based on the subsequent words of this line we prefer the reading of two *kaps*: ככרין, 'talents.' The same word is also found in line 6; a *kap* with the same shape of *kap* is found in line 8.

Ll. 7-8 [ל]אנט[לר דיתמא]. At the end of line 7, the remains of a *lamed* are visible, followed by another letter, which might be read as *reš*. One may reconstruct [אנט]לר and, together with the following word, read the phrase, [אנט]לר דיתמא, 'the legal guardian of the orphans'. אנטלר is a Greek loan-word 'ευντελλαριος', 'one who has been authorized'. It is found in *y. Sanh.* 19d ליה אנטלר, 'Let him appoint for himself someone who has been authorized'. If the reconstruction is correct, the end of the document records the fact that the person who was authorized to manage the orphan's property is allowed to sell the dates. Another case of a person authorized to manage the property of orphans is mentioned in the Aramaic summary of P.Yadin 20 from Babatha's archive: 'I am Basa son of Joshua, the Apotropos (אפטרפא) of the orphans of Joshua son of Ketushion'.

## TRANSLATION

*Recto*

## Upper Version

1. On the 25th of Tevet, year 3 (of) [our] lor[d ]
2. 25 good full-weight *zuzin* (of) silver [ ]
3. to be harvested for you, baskets of dates, to be given [ ]

## Lower Version

1. On the twenty-fifth of Tevet, [yea]r three (of) Domitianus Cae[sar
2. [ ] Yehoseph son of Yehoḥanan from [ ] sold [to Yehoḥanan son of] Yehoseph, [
3. son of Yehoḥanan, [ ] of date[s ]
4. four talents, to be given to you, as before, [ Yehoḥanan son (?)] of Yehoseph, with purchase money[ 5]
5. 20 silver (money) of the purchase, out of which the money of the orphans (will be given), to be paid as (agreed) before
6. palm orchard (of) four talents that you will pick for yourself five baskets of dates
7. this document, and to pick (it) without payment [ ] 2 [ ] to [the legal gu]ardian
8. of the orphan is allowed to sell everything that has already come into existence (for) the value equal to the market price of [ ]

*Verso*

1. Yehoseph son of Yehoḥanan, [fo]r him[self]
- 2.
3. Yehoḥanan s[on of] Simon [witness(?)]
- 4.
5. Yehoseph

## COMMENTS

*Recto*

## Upper Version

L. 1 מרן [מס]. The upper version includes a title of Caesar, מרן, 'our lord'. Based on the lower version, a possible reconstruction is מרן דמ[מס], 'our lord, Domitianus'.

L. 2 טבין חקילין. 'Good full-weight'. Compare the expression טבין וחקילין referring to coins.<sup>4</sup> Likewise, Mur 20 5, a marriage contract, contains the words טב טביע, '(money which is made) in good minting'.

## Lower Version

L. 1 בעשרין וחמשה למבח. As mentioned above, at the beginning of this document a Babylonian date was given: 'On the twenty fifth of the month of Tevet'. Some of the letters following are missing, but one can read חלח ע, '(in) the third year'.

L. 1 דמטס ק[סר]. The name of Domitianus is also reconstructed in the upper version, with the title מרן, 'our lord'. After the name is the beginning of a word starting with *qop*; it can be reconstructed as ק[סר]; thus: 'Domitianus C[esar]'. The third year of Domitianus' reign is the year 84 CE.

<sup>4</sup> This terminology is typical of Palestinian Aramaic. Compare, e.g. דינרין טבין וחקילין, 'fine and heavy dinarii', in *y. B. Meṣ.* 4.5. 9c. See the discussion in M. Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine Period* (Ramat-Gan, 1990) 219, 589. It seems that the language of *b. B. Meṣ.* 44b ליה טבין וחקילין זיל שלים ליה is a citation from Palestinian Aramaic, and does not reflect a Babylonian form.



L. 2 P.Yadin 6, a deed of gift from Babatha's archive, is written in Aramaic.<sup>5</sup> It is dated as follows: 'In the consulship of Lucius Catilius Severus for the second time and Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, in the third year of Imperial Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Sebastes, according to the era of this province, on the 24th (of) Tamuz (in) year 15'. In Mur 18 the date is: שנת תרתין לנרון קסר, 'In the second year of Neron Caesar', without any additional epithet.<sup>6</sup>

According to the upper and lower versions of this document, one may reconstruct the full date of this deed as follows: 'On the twenty-fifth of the month of Tevet, in the third year of our lord, Domitianus Caesar'. If this reconstruction is acceptable, then the document from the Abi'or cave is dated to the year 84 CE.

The signatures on the Abi'or cave document are no longer extant.

L. 2 זבן. As in other documents, the verb זבן, 'sold' defines the document as a deed of sale. It is followed by the name of the seller, Yehoseph son of Yehoḥanan from [ ]. His place of residence is lost.

L. 2 מחרן. This word might either be reconstructed as an epithet of 'Yehoḥanan son of] Yehoseph'; or else as a place of origin (although מן might be expected instead of -מ). Following the second possibility, we may consider the reconstruction of the place-name Threx (Θρήξ) based on its mention together with Tauros (Ταῦρος) as fortresses near Jericho: ἦν δὲ δύο μὲν τὰ ταῖς εἰσβολαῖς ἐπικείμενα τοῦ Ἱερικοῦντος Θρήξ τε καὶ Ταῦρος, 'Two of these were situated on the passes leading to Hiericus, I mean Threx and Taurus'.<sup>7</sup>

L. 4 למינתן לך כלקדמן. Note the definition 'as previously', indicating some earlier payment, perhaps as part of the crop sale.

L. 5 דמי יחמין. This term seems to resemble the שכר יחומים, 'the profits of orphans' and מעות יחומים, 'the money of the orphans' mentioned in rabbinic sources.<sup>8</sup>

L. 5 משין. משין of the root שפי, means 'to clear' or 'to pay'.<sup>9</sup> This root is used for 'clearing' in defension clauses in Hebrew, i.e. in P.Yadin 45 26–27 ועלי לשפות לפניך מן כל חרר ותגר, 'and I must clear it for you of claims and any claimant';<sup>10</sup> as well as in Aramaic, in XHev/Se 9 8–9 וכל די איתתי לי אןחר אין, 'and everything that] I own is pledged to clear and confirm this place'. The phrase וכל די איתתי לי אןחר אין is parallel to למשפיה ולמקימה אחרה, 'and everything that] I own is pledged to clear and confirm this place'. The phrase למשפיה ולמקימה is parallel to למרקא ולקימא, found in Mur 26 4. As noted by Greenfield, the root מרק is found in Standard Aramaic, while שפי is found in Palestinian Aramaic.<sup>11</sup>

L. 6 גן תמרין. גן תמרין is mentioned in the Nabataean summary of P.Yadin 22 (see CONTENTS): 'Babatha daughter of Simon (I admit that) I have sold you, Simon, the produce of the palm orchards (עללח גני) that belonged to Judah, my husband, son of Khtousion, which I have taken . . . according to what is written in this document. (Simon is obligated to pay Babatha) forty-two talents according to the Nabataean weight (of 'split' dates) 2 kors and 5 se'ahs (dates of Syrian and Na'aran species) as written in the document'.

L. 6 ככרין ארבע. ככר, 'talent' is also found in P.Yadin 21 and 22. It seems to designate the weight of the dates. Based on P.Yadin 21 and 22, Broshi came to the conclusion that a talent is equivalent to 24 kg;<sup>12</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Y. Yadin, 'Expedition D—The Cave of the Letters', *IEJ* 12 (1962) 241–2.

<sup>6</sup> Milik, *DJD* II, 100–104.

<sup>7</sup> *The Geography of Strabo*, Book XVI, II:40, ed. by H. L. Jones (*LCL* VII; Cambridge, 1930) 290–91.

<sup>8</sup> See, e.g. *b. Pes.* 50b: 'Our Rabbis taught: Four *perutot* never contain a sign of blessing, the wages of clerks, the wages of interpreters, the profits of orphans (שכר יחומים), and the money that came from countries overseas'. The 'profits of orphans' is explained as the money given in payment for partnership with the one authorized to manage the orphan's property (see the end of line 6); cf. also *y. Šeqal.* 4:2 and *b. B. Meš.* 70a.

<sup>9</sup> For the discussion of the history of this term, see E. Y. Kutscher, 'Terms of Legal Documents in the Talmud in the Gaonic Literature', *Hebrew and Aramaic Studies* (Jerusalem, 1977) 426 (Hebrew); see further J. C. Greenfield, 'The "Defension Clause" in Some Documents from Naḥal Hever and Naḥal Se'elim', *RevQ* 15 (1992) 471.

<sup>10</sup> See further P.Yadin 46 10, quoted by Greenfield, 'Defension Clause', 470.

<sup>11</sup> Greenfield, 'Defension Clause', 467–71.

<sup>12</sup> M. Broshi, 'Agriculture and Economy in Roman Palestine: Seven Notes on the Babatha Archive', *IEJ* 42 (1992) 230–40.

the four talents of Jer 7, then, equal 96 kg, which reveals that the size of the orchard is very small.<sup>13</sup> Later in this line ‘five baskets of dates’ are mentioned; the same amount is found in the upper and lower versions of the Abiṣor cave document.

L. 8 למזבן. The form is the infinitive of the root זבן in the *Pa<sup>c</sup>el* meaning ‘to sell’.<sup>14</sup>

L. 8 כל דבעלם. The expression resembles the well-known halakhic term דבר שבא לעולם, ‘something that has already come into existence’; cf. its opposite: דבר שלא בא לעולם, ‘something which does not yet exist’, e.g. fruit which have not grown yet. *b. B. Meṣ.* 66b states:

If one sells his neighbour the fruit of a palm tree—R. Huna said: as long as it does not exist now (עד שלא באו לעולם), he can retract; but when it has already come into existence (משבאו לעולם), he cannot. R. Naḥman said: Even when it has come into existence, he can retract.

In Jer 7, אנם לר דיתמא רשי למזבן כל דבעלם may be translated: ‘[the legal gu]ardian of the orphan’s property is allowed to sell everything that has already come into existence.’

*Verso*

L. 1 יהוסף בר יהוחנן [על נפ]שה. In line 2 of the lower version of the *recto*, he is described as the seller of the date crop. As usual, the signature of the seller is the first to appear in the *verso*. If the reconstruction of lines 7–8 is correct, then he is the legally appointed guardian of the orphan’s property, that is, the palm orchard.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid. 235, 240.

<sup>14</sup> Although the infinitive with *mem* prefix occurs in Biblical Aramaic only in the infinitive of the *Pe<sup>c</sup>al*; and never in the other conjugations, as noted by Qimron, in Aḥiqar, in the Hermopolis papyri, and in several examples in the Palestinian Aramaic dialect, one can find the prefixed *mem* in the *Pa<sup>c</sup>el*. Such is the case in the Baru document, which reads למעמקה, למקימה; see P.Yadin 8 6 and A. Yardeni in *DyD* XXVII (Oxford: Clarendon, 1997) 26–8.







## Frg. c

] אַעֵא [ 1  
] אַעֵא [ 2

## Frg. d

] אַח(?) בתא [ 1

## Frg. e

] אַח(?) זוזין [ (?) 1

## NOTES ON READINGS

*Recto*

## Frg. a

L. 1 ]◦[. Only the lower part of a long downstroke remains on this line, near the tear on the left side of the fragment.

L. 2 ] אַא אַלך [ ]/א. Remains of a single letter are all that is left from the beginning of the line. It is not clear whether it marks the right margin. After this letter a layer of the papyrus has peeled off; thus part of the next letter, appearing after a gap of about 2.5 cm, may be missing. The remains after the gap resemble *ʿalep*, but the next letter is clearly *ʿalep*: it concludes the word as part of the pl. masc. suffix, and the pl. demonstrative which follows (*ʿlk*, 'those': the lower part of final *kap* has peeled away) refers back to this suffix, in accordance with normal Aramaic word order. It must be concluded, then, that the remains preceding the *ʿalep* are in fact a ligature of two letters, perhaps *mem* or *he* followed by *yod*.

## Frg. b

L. 1 מן. The word is written as a ligature. It is the only legible word in the line.

L. 2 סלכסף. The ligature of *samek* and final *pe* appears often in the Judaean Desert documents written in the Jewish cursive script, mainly in *ksp* and in the name Yehosef. The ligature here follows a small curved stroke preceded by a lamed. The reading *lksp* is fairly certain, although the *lamed* could belong to the preceding word, which may perhaps be *kl*, but *kap* is doubtful.

L. 2 קלן לף/ך ן ן ן ן יוֹסֵף. *Šqln*, 'shekels' (1 *shekel* equals 2 *zuzin*) may perhaps be restored; it is followed by *lp*, 'thousand' or *lk*, 'to/for you'. After another illegible word, perhaps the ligature of the name Yehosef appears; however, the reading of these words is conjectural. The end of the line is apparently missing.

L. 3 ן ן ן ן ן ן. The beginning of the line is missing. The first recognizable letter-traces appear to be the two left strokes of *šin*; next comes *tet*, the only certain letter in this line. The sequence of *šin* and *tet* is most

likely the beginning of *štr*, ‘document’; thus the vertical downstroke after *tet* may be an extreme example of cursive *reš*.

Frg. c

This small fragment has been placed at the left side of frg. a; an examination of the fibres on the *verso* is needed in order to confirm the placement.

L. 2 ] אָיִן אֶלֶפּ. ‘*Ayin* and ‘*alep*, the only letters preserved on this fragment, are preceded by two unidentifiable traces; together, they appear to form אָרֶץ, ‘land’ but with no context it cannot be confirmed.

#### TRANSLATION

*Recto*

Frg. a

1. [ ] [ ]
2. [ ] those [ ] in the courtyard [ ]

Frg. b

1. [ ] from/of [ ] [ ] [ ]
2. [ ] silver [ ] thousand/to you (?) Yehosef(?) [ ] [ ]
3. [ ] document (?) as is proper.

Frg. c

2. [ ] [ ]

Frg. d

1. [ ] [ ] [ ]

Frg. e

1. [(?)] [(?)] *zwyzyn* (= denarii) [ ]

#### COMMENTS

Frg. a

L. 2 ] אָיִן אֶלֶפּ בְּדִרְתָּא [ ] אִין. *Bdrt*?, ‘in/for the courtyard’ may point to a possible context for this clause, as it recalls, for example, XHēv/Se 8a 5, 10: *wršh l’ yty lk ‘my bgw drt’ dk*, ‘And you have no right[s] with me in that courtyard’, P.Yadin 7 25, 60:<sup>1</sup> *w’llh wnpqh ‘mky bdrt’ hy*, ‘and [may freely] enter and go out [together] with you in that courtyard’.

Frg. b

L. 3 כְּרִי הָזֶה. If the reading is correct, it recalls a similar formulation in the clause dealing with the exchange of the document at the end of certain deeds (e.g. XHēv/Se 9 5 [only in the upper text; a deed of sale], Mur 21 20 [a marriage contract], Mur 19 11, 25 [a deed of divorce]).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Y. Yadin, J. C. Greenfield, and A. Yardeni, ‘A Deed of Gift in Aramaic Found in Nahal Hēver: *Papyrus Yadin 7*’, *ErIsr* 25 (1996) 386–403 (Hebrew).

<sup>2</sup> See A. Yardeni, *Textbook of the Aramaic, Hebrew and Nabataean Documentary Texts from the Judaean Desert and Related Material* (Jerusalem, 2000; in press) vol. A, part I, 23, 121, 131.













## 10. Jericho papDeed B heb? (1st Century CE)

(FIG. 22 AND PL. XIV)

THIS small papyrus fragment belongs to the upper right corner of a document. It was folded from top to bottom, as evidenced by the increasing width of the folds toward the bottom. The maximal measurements are 8.3 x 4.5 cm. The right margin, measuring *c.*3 cm, has been preserved; parts of the upper and perhaps the lower margins have also been preserved. The latter, however, may be the spacing between the upper and lower texts in a double deed of which the upper text alone has survived. The remains of nine lines have survived, inscribed perpendicular to the fibres. The small hand, exhibiting an extreme cursive form, very much resembles that of Jer 8, and it is very tempting to suggest that the two texts belong to the same document. In spite of the fact that placing together the two documents does not confirm the hypothesis, the two documents have so many affinities in script, spacing, and number of lines, that they could hardly belong to two different deeds. Unlike Jer 8, this fragment yields several legible words, although, due to their small number, their context remains unintelligible.

Mus. Inv. K29643  
IAA 649792

*Recto*

Upper Text?

בתשע לא/מ] 1
] יוחנן/ 000 לן ] 2
] 99 ( = 40 ) 3
] החצי/רשלך] 4
] 000ח 5
] 000 הערך 6
] צ'ת עד / כללם ] 7
] או 000 ח/ע/בל] 8
] 00 [ ] לי 9



## TRANSLATION

1. On the ninth of  $\text{?/m}$  [ ]
2. Yoḥanan (or: to/for us) [ ]
3.  $zwzyn$  (= 'denarii') 40 [ ]
4. the half (or: the courtyard) of yours [ ]
5. and [ ]
6. the value (?) [ ]
7. [ ]
8. or (?) [ ]
9. [ ] [ ]

## NOTES ON READINGS AND COMMENTS

L. 1 ] בַּחֲשֵׁךְ לַאֲמִי. This is the first line of the deed, starting with the date. Only the day of the month has survived: the ninth. The reading assumes a feminine form ending with *ayin*, instead of the expected masculine form ending in *he*. However, because not all the letter-forms in this script are familiar to me, there is a possibility that the large form at the end of the word is a ligature of *ayin* and *he* in which both letters have lost their individual characteristic. The remains of the two first letters of the month, appearing after *lamed*, are too damaged to enable restoration.

L. 2 ] יוֹחָנָן / יוֹחָנָן. Only final *nun* is certain, the preceding letter being either *lamed* or medial *nun*. In the latter case perhaps the name Yoḥanan can be read, but it more closely resembles two words.

L. 3 The two signs resembling the modern numeral 9 each designate the number twenty. They follow a short word ending with final *nun* which may be a ligature standing for  $zwzyn$ .

L. 4 ] הַחֲצִי/רֶשֶׁלְךָ. If the reading is correct, the first letter is the Hebrew definite article, *he*;<sup>1</sup> this confirms the language of the document to be Hebrew. The two words in this line, which are written together, are read here as  $hḥsy/ršlk$ , 'your half' or 'your courtyard'.  $Ḥsy/r$ , 'half' or 'courtyard' appears in another Hebrew deed (Jer 11 3), where it is equally difficult to determine the correct reading (an extreme example of cursive *reš*, drawn as a short downstroke and resembling a cursive *yod*, is not uncommon in the documents from the Judaean Desert).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. this form of *he* made with two strokes in documents from Wadi Murabba'at and Naḥal Ḥever. See Yardeni, *Textbook*, vol. B, part II, pp. [176]–[177], type 2.

## 11. Jericho papDeed or Letter (1st Century CE)

(FIG. 23 AND PL. XV)

THREE fragments, now joined together, have survived from the upper left corner of this document, retaining part of its upper and left margins. The maximal measurements of the combined fragments are 8.1 x 9.3 cm. The document was folded from top to bottom, as evidenced by seven horizontal folds, the sizes of which increase downward. Vertical folds which have survived indicate a secondary, sideways folding. There are three such vertical folds, suggesting the text was folded twice, but there may have been more folds in accordance with the amount of text missing on the right. There is no indication as to the size of the missing part at the bottom. Five smaller fragments belonging to the same document apparently do not join directly to the three combined fragments. Frgs. a–e measure 1.1 x 2.2 cm, 1.1 x 2.8 cm, 1.2 x 2.6 cm, 0.9 x 1.6 cm, and 0.5 x 0.9 cm respectively. Remains of six lines appear in the three combined fragments, while frg. a bears remains of three lines, frg. b of one line, frg. c of two lines, and frgs. d and e, which perhaps should be joined together, bear remains of one line, all written perpendicular to the fibres. The handwriting is a variation of the Jewish cursive script, with a number of unique letter forms stylistically deviating from those in the Wadi Murabba‘at and Naḥal Ḥever documents. Many letters join each other in ligatures. The nature of this document is unclear and the reading suggested here is conjectural.

If the reading is correct, it may perhaps be a deed dealing mainly with immovable property including stores and parts of a house, of which the roof and ‘half the opening’ are perhaps mentioned. The word read as *ḥṣy/r* refers either to half of the house or to its courtyard. There are no traces of a date formula in the remains of the first line; however, it may have existed at the beginning of the first line, provided more than a quarter of the papyrus sheet is missing on the right side. The text is too fragmentary to allow restoration. It seems that it is formulated in the first person, and the speaker may be mentioned in line 2. There are no traces of text on the *verso*; this does not necessarily prove the original absence of signatures, because the fragment may be the upper part either of a double deed, having been signed on the back of its lower text which is now missing, or of a simple deed, having borne signatures at the bottom.

Mus. Inv. K29644

IAA 376308\*, 700198\* (frgs. a–e)

*Recto*

1 [עלי או עבד/ר/ג יהוסף ג] [ר] החנויות בי/ו/ע כל /ינחלף אני (?)  
 2 [על גג הבית הלז ממחצית פתח הבית שלי אנבי חזקיה זה לך  
 3 [ד/ר/הא ויצו את (?) / הכל בחציר/ה חציר/ר] בית  
 4 [ם/ם ד/ר/ובנ/כו/ילם/מה/אמ/סטלד/רו/ים] [ג/ם/ה את (?) /  
 5 [ם] [כ]סף קבלן [ליזים]  
 6 [בכול [?] מכר] מה [vacat]

## Frg. a

1 ]  
 2 ]ל  
 3 ]

## Frg. b

1 [מכר הבית להחזיר] [בם]

## Frg. c

1 ]ל

## Frgs. d + e (?)

1 ]ל

## TRANSLATION

*Recto*

1. ]on/to me or Yehosef (?) [ ] the stores (?) in (?) on (or: all) will exchange (?), I (?)
2. o]n (?) the roof of that house, from/of half (?) of the opening of the house of mine, I, (or: of my father), this (same?) Hizkiyah (?) , to you
3. ] and he has ordered (?) all/everything for half (or: the courtyard) of the (store)s (?), hal[f] (or: the court[yard]) of the house of
4. ] *tld/rw/ys* (a Greek personal name?) [ ]
5. ] [si]lver (?) we received (?) [ ]
6. ]in/for all the (?) *vacat* [ ]

Frg. b

1. ]sale (?) of the house, to give back (?) [ ] [ ]

NOTES ON READINGS AND COMMENTS

L. 1 Due to the lack of information concerning the original width of the document, it is difficult to determine what is missing at the beginning of this line, whether it is the date formula of a deed or perhaps an address on a letter. The partial reading of the remains of this line is too uncertain to allow interpretation. If the reading is correct, the stores mentioned here may be the subject of a transaction.

L. 2 The restoration of the word ]l is conjectural. The reading of the rest of this line is quite certain. The definite article *he* at the beginning of words, such as *hbyt hlz*, proves the language of the document to be Hebrew. The vocabulary of this line, in particular, recalls that of Hebrew and Aramaic deeds from the Judaean Desert.<sup>1</sup> The word *lk*, at the end of the line, requires a verb, which had perhaps existed at the beginning of the line. It is difficult to reconstruct the sentence because the usual syntax in such cases, as evidenced in the Judaean Desert documents, has the verb immediately preceding the indirect object.

L. 3 The reading of this line is highly conjectural; if it is correct, the reading of *hšy* rather than *hšr* could indicate a division of the property dealt with, i.e. the stores perhaps mentioned in line 1 and a house.

L. 4 טלד/רו/יס. The sequence *ṭld/rw/ys*, in the middle of the line, may belong to a name with the Greek ending *y/ws*.

Ll. 5-6 The reading is doubtful.

Frg. b

L. 1 ]מכר הבית להחזיר ]בס. If the reading of the first word is correct, it may be a construct form of the root *mkr*. A verb in the past tense would require the accusative particle (*makar ʿet habayit*), as is the norm evidenced in the Hebrew texts from the Judaean Desert. However, a passive verb, such as *nimkar* or *yimmaker* may be restored. In any case, the reading is too conjectural to allow interpretation.

<sup>1</sup> See Concordance in Yardeni, *Textbook*, e.g. *gg*, *byt*, *hlz* (= Ar. *dk*), *plgu* (= *mḥšyt*), *Šl* (= *dyl-*), *zh* (= Ar. *dnh*).





## 12. Jericho papyrus Deed Bar (1st Century CE)

(FIG. 23 AND PL. XV)

THE TWO papyrus fragments comprising Jer 12 apparently belong to the same deed. The maximal measurements of the large fragment are 12.9 x 4.1 cm and those of the small fragment (frg. a) are 1.7 x 4.1 cm. The large fragment comprises the right (secondary) fold of a papyrus sheet, which was apparently first folded from top to bottom and then sideways. Parts of the right edge of the document are preserved, exhibiting the full width of the margin which measures 3 cm (lines 12-14 exceed this margin, for an unknown reason, by c.0.5 cm). The text is written perpendicular to the fibres in an extreme cursive hand. The beginnings of sixteen lines have survived, but most of the letters could not be identified. Frg. a apparently continues three of these lines; if its reading is correct, its second line deals with a debt of one hundred denarii the debtor owes to someone addressed by him in the second person feminine. This clause may indicate a loan bill, but the context could not be restored because of the fragmentary condition of the text.

Mus. Inv. K29645

IAA 376308\*, 700190\* (frg. a)

*Recto*

] בִּס	1
] ןןן	2
] ןןן	3
] ןןןן	4
] לִלִּן	5
] ןןן	6
] ןןן	7
] בִּן	8
]	9
] ןןן / תִּלְחָח / גִּן	10
] בִּן / ןןןן קִנָּה	11

]ooooo	12
]o'oooo	13
]oooo q'oooo	14
] (?)oo	15
]o'oooo	16

## Frg. a

]ooo [ ]o o/eq/oo mn m/ks'q' b/ks'os	1
]o'oo'i l'ki 'eli k'sq' zo'zn m'aa' d'm'jn gm[rjn]	2
]l'q' s's'ooo l'	3

## TRANSLATION

## Frg. a

1. [ Yeh] Josef (?) son of (?) of/from [ ]
2. [ ] and you have on me (= I owe you) silver, *zwzyn*, (one) hundred, (the) fi[nal] price [ ]
3. [ ] to/for you to/for [ ]

## COMMENTS

L. 1 The fold which ran through this line caused the loss of the upper part of most of its remaining letters. The reading of the name *Yh]wsp bn Q..ws* is uncertain, and in any case its context is unclear.

L. 2 The reading of this line is based on the traditional formulation of the clause acknowledging a debt, known from Aramaic documents from the Judean Desert (and from parallels in Aramaic documents from Egypt). The translation of this clause is as follows: 'and you have with/on me (or: 'and I have with/on you') silver, . . . (= the currency and the sum)'. The debtor acknowledges that he 'has' something which belongs to somebody else. In some documents from the Judean Desert, the word *'m* alone with a personal suffix expresses this idea ('with me' or 'with him', etc., i.e. 'I owe' or 'he owes', etc.). Here the formulation is in the name of the debtor who acknowledges that he owes one-hundred denarii to a person he addresses with the word *lky*, where the *yod* indicates a 2nd fem. address. The two words following this phrase are apparently *ksp zwzn*, 'silver, denarii'. The word *ksp*, which appears here as a ligature in which the letters *samek* and final *pe* have lost their traditional forms (somewhat similar to the ligature in Mur 22 4),<sup>1</sup> is expected at this place and fits the context perfectly. If the reading and restoration of *dmy n gm[rjn*, 'final price', the two last words partly surviving in this fragment, is correct they are not expected in the acknowledgement of a debt, but rather in a receipt. The phrase is a calque on a neo-Babylonian phrase,<sup>2</sup> appearing, e.g. in the Aramaic Wadi Daliyeh papyri of the 4th century BCE<sup>3</sup> as well as in several Aramaic and Nabataean documents from the Judean Desert dating from the 1st and 2nd centuries CE, none of which is a loan bill.<sup>4</sup> The nature of this text is unclear.

<sup>1</sup> See Yardeni, *Textbook*, vol. A, part I, 45-6.

<sup>2</sup> See D. M. Gropp, *The Samaria Papyri from Wādī ed-Dāliyah, The Slave Sales* (Ph.D. diss.; Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., 1986) 16.

<sup>3</sup> See above, n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> See Yardeni, *Textbook*, Concordance: *dmy n*.

### 13. Jericho pap Unclassified Text ar (116 CE?)

(FIG. 23 AND PL. XV)

A SMALL fragment, measuring 5.2 x 2.9 cm, is all that has survived of this document. The date, partly preserved in the first line, indicates its being a deed (letters in this period hardly bear dates). However, unlike most of the deeds from the Judaeen Desert, it is written parallel to the fibres. Parts of the first five lines of the text have survived, generously spaced and in a script quite similar to that evidenced in documents from Wadi Murabba'at and Naḥal Ḥever. It is a skilled and fluent personal handwriting, perhaps of a professional scribe, and quite legible in spite of several ligatures. The remains of the date formula indicate the eighteenth year of Traianus Caesar. The text has been torn on both right and left sides and the bottom is apparently missing too. Unfortunately, its fragmentary condition does not allow the determination of its nature.

Mus. Inv. K29646

IAA 391942

*Recto*

וחמנה טריינוס קס]ר	1
] למכתב ב/כ •• עמי/ם לא]	2
] •• שאר(?) ה/ה ]	3
] ••••• ב/כ/ג	4
] •• זכר(?) ]	5

#### TRANSLATION

1. [On the (= day of the month), year ten ]and eight (= eighteen) (of) Traianus Caesa[r ]
2. [ ] to write (?) [ ]
3. [ ] the rest (?) [ ]
4. [ ] in the garden of (?) [ ]
5. [ ] /he bought (?)/he sold (?) [ ]

(Lines missing?)



## COMMENTS

L. 1 If the reading is correct, the *waw* consecutive in *wtmnh* indicates a combined number, which can only be eighteen, as Traianus ruled in the years 98–117 CE. However, this reading depends on two assumptions: 1) The two curved strokes after *taw* are a *mem*, the traditional circle of which has opened up at its top, perhaps as a result of the rapid writing; 2) The unusual omission of *lamed* before the name of the ruler, whose years of reign are counted, is in line with a scribal tradition evidenced in earlier Aramaic documents, such as those from the Persian period, where, as a rule, no *lamed* appears between the number of the year and the name of the ruler. The reading is supported by the fact that this is the first line and the date formula is expected here. The reading of the ruler's name is quite certain, although the *tet* and the *samek* alone retain their characteristic forms. The small vertical downstroke following the *tet* represents a *reš*. It is followed by two similar downstrokes representing two *yods*, whereas the tiny downstroke following the curved *nun* represents the *waw*. This simplification of certain letter forms into mere downstrokes is one of the characteristics of the extreme Jewish cursive script.

Ll. 2–3 The infinitive *lmktb*, 'to write' apparently appears in line 2, but so far the remains of these lines have not yielded a meaningful text.

L. 4 The reading of the word *bgnt*, 'in the garden of' is conjectural.

L. 5 If the reading is correct, *samek* may be the end of a Greek personal name, whereas the verb *zbn*, 'he bought' or 'he sold' may indicate a transaction. However, here too the reading is conjectural.

## 14. Jericho papUnclassified Text heb? (1st Century CE)

(FIG. 24 AND PL. XVI)

TWO SMALL fragments have survived from this document. The maximal measurements of frg. a are 4.5 x 3.4 cm and those of frg. b are 2.1 x 2.3 cm. Frg. a bears the ends of four lines while frg. b bears remains of three lines, written perpendicular to the fibres on the *recto* in a relatively large script (the height of *bet* is *c.*4 mm) and with spaces of 5–6 mm between the lines. The letter-forms are not very different from those in the standard Jewish cursive script appearing in documents from the Judaean Desert, and the reading leaves only little room for speculation. The language seems to be Hebrew, but the text is too fragmentary to render a context.

Mus. Inv. K29647  
IAA 391942

Frg. a

oooooo[	1
למטה[	2
א מחצה[	3
[ ]ב/כב/כפ/ס[ ]	4

Frg. b

]ooooo[ ]מ/ס[	1
]שלחתי ב/כספ/א/ר[	2
]oo[	3

## TRANSLATION

## Frg. a

1. ]
2. ]below/downward
3. ] half
4. ] [ ] [ ]

## Frg. b

1. ] [ ] [ ]
2. ]I (?) have sent silver (?) [ (or: in a bowl/jar/letter/scroll )]
3. ] [ ]

## COMMENTS

## Frg. a

L. 1 Only remains of ink appear in this line.

L. 2 In spite of the space before *tet*, the four letters surviving in this line have to be one word. The sequence of *mem*, *tet*, and *he* has various meanings in Hebrew (*maṭṭah*, 'downward, below'; *miṭṭah*, 'couch, bed'; *maṭṭeh*, 'staff, tribe' [biblical]), and, with *he* instead of *ʿalep* or *yod*, it can also be Aramaic (*meṭah*, 'to reach, to arrive'). However, if the *lamed* preceding *mem* belongs to the word, the meaning of 'below' or 'downward' seems to be the most reasonable.

L. 3 At the right tear, there are remains of a letter which seems to be a final *ʿalep*. Only a few words in Hebrew terminate with an *ʿalep*, whereas in Aramaic it is the definitive suffix. However, if the reading is correct, the word following *ʿalep* has no meaning in Aramaic, while in Hebrew it may mean 'half' (*meḥṣah*, from the root *ḥṣy*). A less probable meaning could be a verb from the root *mḥṣ*, 'to smash' in the 3rd fem. in past tense. It should be noted that the reading of the word is based on the assumption that the short downstroke ascending from the left end of the short horizontal stroke of *mem* is the right part of a cursive *het* rather than part of the *mem*.

L. 4 Only part of an unidentified word remains in this line.

## Frg. b

Lines 1 and 3 are too damaged to yield a reading.

L. 2 If the reading is correct, the writer is informing someone of sending either silver (*kṣp*) or, although less likely, something 'in a bowl/jar' (*be-sap*) or 'in a letter/scroll' (*be-seper*[]). If *kṣp* is correct, *kap* is written with a tail at its lower right corner, similar to *bet*. This type of *kap* is well attested in documents from the Judaean Desert.<sup>1</sup> In any case, if indeed the writer is referring to a dispatch, it may indicate that this document is a letter rather than a deed.

<sup>1</sup> See Yardeni, *Textbook*, vol. B, part 2, [189], type 2a2.

## 15. Jericho papUnclassified Fragments ar/heb (1st or 2nd Century CE)

(FIGS. 24–25 AND PLS. XVI–XVII)

IN ADDITION to Jericho 7–14 and two documents already published, small fragments from some thirty different documents bearing semitic writing were found in the Abi'or Cave at Ketef Jericho. Each one of these Aramaic and Hebrew documents exhibits an individual handwriting, testifying to the widespread literacy in the region in the late first and early second centuries CE. A few small fragments bearing illegible ink remains are not included here.

The small fragments are presented in five groups according to their museum plate numbers. This marking does not indicate any relationship between the different fragments in each group unless it is explicitly indicated.

Most of the fragments are too small to render an intelligible text.

Mus. Inv. K29648

IAA 376308\*, 391942\*, 649792\*, 699793\*, 7000185\*, 700189\*

### *Group I*

IAA 699793, 649792

*Recto*

Frgs. a + b

Perpendicular to fibres

]לסאס]	1
]ב[ (?) ] עבר/דו	2
]ס	3
] [ ] [ (?) ]	4
]ס	5
]ס	6
]ס	7



Frg. c

Perpendicular to fibres

]°°[ 1

]ח°° בא°°[ 2

Frg. d (ar?)

Perpendicular to fibres

]°° ל°° [(?)°° פלח°°[ 1

]ל°° [ 2

Frg. e

Parallel to fibres

]ח°°/ח°° [(?)°° נ°°[ 1

]חינ°°[ 2

*Group II*

IAA 391942

*Recto*

Frgs. a + c

Parallel to fibres

]נ°°/בת°°/ש°°[ (?)°° צ°° ו°°/ 1

]ו°° ו°° [ (?)°° ]מ°°ן יש°°[ 2

]°°°°[ (?)°° ]°°°°[ 3

]°° °°[ (?)°° 4

## Frg. b

Parallel to fibres

]◦ ב◦ ◦◦[ 1

]◦ חמ]ש◦ ◦◦[ 2

## Frg. d

Parallel to fibres

Remains of letters; direction of writing unclear

## Frg. e

Perpendicular to fibres

] למנחם בר] 1

## TRANSLATION

1. ] To Menahem son of[

## Frg. f

Perpendicular to fibres

]◦[(?)]◦◦ל◦ל◦[(?)]◦ ב◦[ 1

]◦[ 2

## Frg. g

Remains of letters in one line; direction of writing unclear

*Group III*

IAA 376308

*Recto*

Frgs. a + (?) b

Parallel to fibres

]oo ooooo[	(?) ]o ממהoo [	1
]ooooooooo[	(?) ]o [oo [	2
]לo שותף[	(?) ]דר[ ]o [	3

Frg. c

Parallel to fibres

Remains of letters in one line

Frg. e + (?) d

Parallel to fibres

]ג/חן מ/סלין תשן (?) ]o באר/וצר/ויםמ[	1
]o בר ליםה ]ל(?) ]ל[	2

Frg. f

Parallel to fibres

]oo[	1
oo oo[	2

Frg. g

Parallel to fibres

]oo/מן ב/כן כול[	1
------------------	---

Frg. h

Parallel to fibres

]לי/וש ה[ 1

Frg. i

Parallel to fibres

]ו[ 1

]ב/כסנ/פ/ב/ב/ף/ך/ו[ 2

Frg. j

Perpendicular to fibres

]וו[ 1

]וה/א/ז/ש[ 2

Frgs. k + l + (?) m

Perpendicular to fibres

]מ/ל/ן [ (?) ]ב/ו/י/ג/ו/ל/ב[ 1

]ל/ו[ (?) 2

Frgs. n + (?) o

Perpendicular to fibres

Remains of letters in one line; direction of writing unclear





Frg. u

Perpendicular to fibres

]o[ ]oo[ 1

]o oπooo[ 2

Frg. v

Perpendicular to fibres

] oom[ 1

Frg. w

Perpendicular to fibres

]נולש[ 1

*Group IV*

IAA 700189

Frg. a

Perpendicular to fibres

Illegible remains of two lines

Frg. b

Parallel to fibres

] [ 1

*Group V*

Mus. Inv. K10214

Frgs. a, b: IAA 700185; Frgs. c-k: sources unknown

*Recto*

Frg. a

Perpendicular to fibres

מהרם] 1

Frg. b

Perpendicular to fibres

] מו/ר/ן (?) 1

Frg. c

Perpendicular to fibres

שן] 1

Frg. d

Perpendicular to fibres

] בם (?) 1

] ימי/ונ/בו ם (?) 2

] א (?) 3

Frg. e (+ f?)

Perpendicular to fibres

] ם ם ם ם ם ם ם ם ם ם 1

] א] א] 2

] א/צלא (?) 3

Frg. g

Perpendicular to fibres

]oo o[ 1

]oo טoo[ 2

]כ/ע/חתיך ז[ 3

Frg. h

Perpendicular to fibres

]כ/בס/מ[ 1

Frg. i

Perpendicular to fibres

]o[ 1

]oo ד/ד[ 2

Frg. j

Parallel to fibres

]ח[ 1

Frg. k

Parallel to fibres

(?)]ת[ 1





16. Jericho papyrus Text Mentioning the Emperor Hadrian  
(P. Jericho 16 gr)

(PLATE XVIII)

JERICHO 16<sup>1</sup> is a poorly preserved fragment measuring 15 x 10 cm. A small fragment with some ink stains on it and another tiny piece may belong to the same document. Only the large fragment is transcribed below. The writing has faded completely in some places. The right and bottom margins are preserved as well as the upper part of the left margin (lines 2-7). There is a loss of one or two letters at the beginning of lines 8-18.

Lines 6-7 and 10-14 yield a continuous text. It does not seem likely that another column, now completely faded, was written in the right margin, despite some ink stains in what would be the continuation of line 15. It is difficult to explain why most of the right margin, which is 4 cm wide, remained blank. The right margin was folded over the left margin, as implied by the perpendicular tear which runs from top to bottom at the end of the written text in lines 1-18<sup>2</sup> and the holes which are in parallel places in both margins.

In contrast to most of the Greek documents from Nahal Hever, the text is written parallel to the fibres. The *verso* is blank. The Roman day, month, and consular year appearing in the papyrus date it to 1 May 128 CE.<sup>3</sup> Hadrian's name appears in the accusative case, and therefore does not belong to a dating formula. The context is obscure.

Mus. Inv. K29649  
IAA 376289, 376300\*

- 1            ]..[  
2            αλλα[ c.9 letters ].a.[  
3            Ἰωάννης [ c.6 letters ]c.αc. ..εραc

---

<sup>1</sup> The editor wishes to thank D. Hagedorn and R. Bagnall and his papyrological seminar for their help with deciphering the document, and A. Yardeni for discussing its format.

<sup>2</sup> Note, though, that four letters in line 3 extend into the right margin.

<sup>3</sup> On the calendar and dating formulas in the documents from the Judaean Desert, see H. M. Cotton, 'Introduction to the Greek Documentary Texts', in *Aramaic, Hebrew and Greek Texts from Nahal Hever and Other Sites with an Appendix Containing Alleged Qumran Texts (The Seiyâl Collection II)*, ed. by H. M. Cotton and A. Yardeni (DJD XXVII; Oxford: Clarendon, 1997) 146-8.

4           ἐπτὰ[ *c.9 letters*]του ηγ  
5                   *traces*     ληγ.π *traces*  
6           επ. ενδ[ *c.6 letters*]. Τραι-  
7           ανὸν Ἀδρι[ανὸν Καίσα]ρα  
8           [.].γορωναγορασσαυτικα.  
9           [.].αλ[.]τ *traces*  
10           .όντων· ἐγράφη ὑπ[α]-  
11           τ]είας Ἀσπρήνας τὸ δεύ-  
12           τ]ερον καὶ Ἀν[ν]ίου Λ[ί]-  
13           β]ωνος Καλανδαί[ *Ma-*  
14           ί]αις *vacat?*  
15           .]...ει ει *traces*  
16           .]..Ἰωάνης ..[.]ει  
17           ..]α....μ...[.]αλλ[  
18           ..[....]. ἔχον[

## TRANSLATION

Iohanes . . . seven days? . . . Traianos Hadri[anos Caesa]r . . . Written in the consulate of Asprenas for the second time and Annius Libo (for the first time) on the kalends of [Ma]y . . . Iohanes . . . I held . . .

## COMMENTS

L. 3 ..εραζ. Perhaps ἡμεράς should be restored, as reflected in the TRANSLATION.

L. 6 ενδ[. This is probably a verb governing the accusative of the emperor's title in lines 6–7. No verb of oath-taking starts with ενδ; the emperor's title is thus unlikely to be part of an oath formula.

Ll. 6–7 Τραιανὸν Ἀδρι[ανὸν Καίσα]ρα. The word order of the imperial titulature, i.e. Ἀδριανός followed by Καίσαρ in the accusative case, is attested nowhere in the papyri from Egypt,<sup>4</sup> where almost all accusatives of Hadrian's titulature occur in oath formulae, e.g. P.Oxy. III 478 lines 35–39: καὶ ὁμύω Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Τραιανὸν Ἀδριανὸν Σεβαστὸν ἀληθῆ εἶναι τὰ προγεγραμμένα (132 CE). On the other hand, this word order occurs commonly enough in the genitive case, especially as part of the dating formula, but usually followed by τοῦ κυρίου, e.g. P.Oxy. III 515 line 4: τῆ 30 τοῦ Φαμενώθ τοῦ 18 (ἔτους) Ἀδριανοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου (134 CE).

L. 8 [.].γορωναγορασσαυτικα. This is the most baffling line in the document. No word division is suggested in the transcription since none yields any sense. The following can be tentatively suggested:

<sup>4</sup> This word order, though, is attested in several inscriptions, e.g. IG VII 1841, 2 (Boiotia); IG IX.2 1028, 2 (Thessaly).

[.]γορων ἀγοράς <c> αὐτίκα. (taking the *sigma* after ἀγοράς as dittography); [.]γορων ἀγοράς ταυτὶ καὶ ... (reading the letter after ἀγοράς to be *tau*); [.] γὰρ ὦν ἀγοράς <c> αὐτίκα (reading *alpha* rather than *omicron* after the first *gamma*).

Ll. 8–9 The horizontal fibres of the papyri between the two lines, especially in the left margin, have suffered shrinkage and dislocation with the result that the vertical fibres can be seen through. This will explain the considerable gap between the two lines. It does not seem, however, that a line of writing has been lost.

Ll. 9–10 If the first letter in line 10 is *chi*, this would strongly suggest reading ὑπαρχόντων, a term which would be expected in the concluding clause of a deed (which perhaps the present document is).

Ll. 10–11 ὑπ[ατ]είας. The Roman dating formula using ὑπατείας rather than ἐπὶ ὑπάτων is attested only twice in Egyptian papyri before the late 3rd century CE;<sup>5</sup> it becomes common in the 4th, 5th, and 6th centuries CE. However, it occurs several times already in the 2nd century CE papyri from the Judaeen Desert, where the date is given, as here, at the end of the document: Πρεῖσκος ἑπαρχος ἱππέων ἐδεξάμην τῇ πρὸ μιᾶς νωνῶν Δεκεμβρίων ὑπατίας Γαλλικ[αν]οῦ [καὶ Τιτιανοῦ] (P.Yadin 16 37, 4 December 127 CE); ἐπρ[άχθη] ὑπατίας Κ[ατυλ]λίνου κ[α]λ̄ Ἄπρου πρὸ ιε κ[αλ(ανδῶν)] Δ[εκεμβρίων] (P.Yadin 23 8–9 = lines 20–21, 17 November 130 CE); cf. P.Yadin 25 28–29 = lines 64–65; P.Yadin 26 17–19. Only in one case, XHev/Se 66 1, is ὑπατείας found at the beginning of the document, if the partial restoration suggested in *DJD XXVII* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1997) 240 is accepted: [ὑπ]ατείας Κορινθίου Πάλλα, i.e. 99 or 109 CE.<sup>6</sup>

It seems worth pointing out that in P.Yadin 18, written in Maḥoz ‘Eglatain in the province of Arabia on 5 April 128 CE, the *ordinarii* are recorded as P. Metilius Nepos II and M. Annus Libo (ἐπὶ ὑπάτων Που[β]λ[ε]ί[ου] Μετελί[ου] Νέπωνος τὸ β̄ καὶ Μάρκου Ἀννίου Λίβωνος [lines 29–30 = line 1]). However, P. Metilius Nepos died before taking office,<sup>7</sup> and he was replaced by L. Nonius Calpurnius Asprenas Torquatus. The change had been known by 1 May in whatever place Jer 16 was written. It was also known in Egypt before the kalends of April of that year, as we know from the Birth Certificate of Herennia Gemella, recorded in *P.Mich.* III, 166 = *AE* 1939 309: ‘L. Nonio Torquato Asprenate II M. Annio Libone co(n)s(ulibus) Idib(us) Aprili(bus)’; see O. Salomies, ‘Zur Namengebung der Konsuln . . .’, *Arctos* 26 (1992), 111, n. 18.

Ll. 15–18 These lines may have been written by a hand different from that which wrote the body of the text.

L. 18 ἔσχο[ν]. Could this be the beginning of the formula ἔσχο[ν] τούτου τὸ ἴσον, inscribed on the original by the official who kept a copy of the document? Cf. COMMENTS to Jer 18 1.

<sup>5</sup> P.Hamb. 39 no. 63 BB (178 CE): ἕξ καλανδῶν Σεπτεμβρίων Ὀρφίτου καὶ Ῥούφου ὑπατείας and no. 63 FF (179 CE): Αὐτοκράτορος Κομμόδου τὸ β̄ καὶ Οὐήρου τὸ β̄ ὑπατείας (= R. O. Fink, *Roman Military Records on Papyrus* [Philological Monographs of the American Philological Association 26; 1971] no. 76).

<sup>6</sup> See *DJD XXVII*, 66. In another non-Egyptian papyrus, BGU III 913, 12 June 206, from Myra, Lycia, ὑπατείας is completely restored at the beginning of the document: [ὑπατείας] Νου]μίου Ἀλβεῖνου καὶ Φουλβίου Αἰμιλιανοῦ πρὸ εἰδοῖς Ἰουλι[οις].

The restoration of ὑ[π]α[τευόντων] in Mur 115 1 of this genitive absolute construction (ὑ[π]α[τευόντων] Μανίου Ἀκίλιου Γλαβρίωνος καὶ Βελλικίου Τορκουάτου) seems doubtful to me.

<sup>7</sup> See R. Syme, ‘People in Pliny’, *JRS* 68 (1978) 138.





## 17. Jericho papDeed? gr (P.Jericho 17 gr)

(PLATE XIX)

JERICHO 17 consists of eleven fragments, of which the two large ones, frgs. a and b, contain a great deal of writing which cannot be deciphered. Frg. a measures 12.2 x 9 cm, and frg. b measures 8.2 x 4.3 cm. Frg. a preserves a left margin; no margins are preserved on frg. b. The two fragments cannot be joined to produce a continuous text. Some of the smaller fragments have traces of ink on them, and there are a few traces of ink on the *verso* of frg. a. Only a description of frg. a is offered below.

### *Description*

Frg. a contains twenty-three lines of text as well as two interlinear inscriptions (between lines 7 and 8, and lines 13 and 14). Some traces of ink above ἜΤΟΥC in the first line suggest that this is the outer (lower) text of a double document.<sup>1</sup> The huge *epsilon* at the beginning of ἜΤΟΥC, whose preserved upper half measures 7 mm (in comparison with 2 mm which is the average letter-size in the document), has no parallel in other documents from the Judaean Desert, and serves to emphasize the formal nature of the document. There are some faint traces of ink in the space before καὶ ἐπιβάλλον in line 5, which overrules the possibility that there was more than one column in frg. a. In all likelihood, Jer 17 is a legal contract. The ink traces on the back of frg. a could thus belong to the witnesses' signatures.

Mus. Inv. K29650  
IAA 651342/1

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<sup>1</sup> See N. Lewis, *The Documents from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters: Greek Papyri, with Aramaic and Nabatean Signatures and Subscriptions*, ed. by Y. Yadin and J. C. Greenfield (Jerusalem, 1989) 6–11, and *DJD XXVII* (Oxford, 1997) 11, 141.



## 18. Jericho papFiscal Acknowledgement gr (P.Jericho 18 gr)

(PLATE XIX)

JERICHO 18 is a fragment measuring 19.5 x 8.6 cm of unknown date and provenance. Two lines of Greek text are inscribed on the fragment, with the text written against the fibres. The contents and rough surface of the papyrus suggest that this is the *verso* of a document, but there are no traces of ink on the other side. Other explanations offer themselves: it is the lower part of a document or that it is the *verso* of the right margin of a document whose *recto* was left blank (see Jer 16). Once the right margin was folded over the left margin, the papyrus was inscribed. In order to gain more space the writer chose to write against the fibres, i.e. perpendicular to the direction of the main text.

Jer 18 was subscribed by the ]φύλαξ in charge of the office in which a copy of the document was deposited. The content of the subscription makes it clear that this fragment comes from the original document, which the owner kept as evidence that the authorities represented by the ]φύλαξ kept a copy (see COMMENTS). The adjective ταμ<α>κῆς suggests that the document pertains to a treasury, very likely the imperial *fiscus*. Unfortunately, too little of this intriguing document is preserved to yield a context.

Mus. Inv. K29651  
IAA 376289, 649791\*

- 1            m.1 ]φύλαξ ἀνέλαβον ταύτης τῆς ταμικῆς τὸ ἀν[τί]γρ[αφο]ν εἰς[  
2            m.2            vacat            . ιοϑφ.....φ...ρ...

1 ταμιακῆς

### TRANSLATION

1. [I, X] guard of the [?] received (retrieved?) a copy of this document pertaining to the treasury (*fiscus*?) in order to[
2. *traces and letters*

### COMMENTS

L. 1 ]φύλαξ. The name of the ]φύλαξ preceded, as implied by ἀνέλαβον. It is therefore not very likely that his name appeared again in a different hand in line 2. There are far too many composites of φύλαξ to venture a reconstruction (see under φύλαξ in C. D. Buck and W. Petersen, *A Reverse Index of Greek Nouns*



and *Adjectives* [Hildesheim and New York, 1970]). It seems clear, however, that the ]φύλαξ in question was in charge of registration and storage of the copy of the document received (or retrieved) by him.<sup>1</sup>

L. 1 ἀνάλαβον. The verb ἀναλαμβάνειν, in the technical sense of ‘to retrieve’, followed by εἰς, is attested in a group of Oxyrhynchus papyri with parallel texts all written within a twenty-two year period (117–138 CE); they are all concerned with the retrieval of a will (ἀνάλαβον παρὰ σοῦ . . . διαθήκη) from the *agoranomeion* of the town for the purpose of cancelling it (εἰς ἀκύρωσιν).<sup>2</sup> At first sight, the technical sense of ‘to retrieve’ seems less appropriate in connection with a copy of a document, but the context is obscure.

L. 1 ταμικῆς. For the spelling ταμικῆς instead of ταμιακῆς, see e.g. P.Flor. III 382 (232 CE) 2, line 95; P.Stras. IV 275 (225 CE) line 13. Although ταμιακῆς functions here as a noun, nowhere else is it attested as such. Here it must be understood as some type of written document. The adjective ταμιακός, attested only from the 3rd century CE onwards in the papyri from Egypt, seems interchangeable with κυριακός, both of which describe the imperial properties.<sup>3</sup> Κυριακός is used to describe an imperial date grove in one of the papyri from the Judaeen Desert: κῆπον κυριακὸν καλούμενον Γανναθ Αββαϊδαία (XHev/Se 64 a 10 = b 31–32, published in *DJD* XXVII, 209–10). In the same papyrus the expression λόγος κυριακοῦ φύσκου is found in a description of the imperial *fiscus*: ἡ (i.e. ἡ γανναθ) τελέσει καθ’ ἔτος εἰς λόγον κυριακοῦ φύσκου φοίνεικος πατητοῦ κάτα δέκα καὶ κυροῦ καὶ νααρου κάτα ἕξ (frg. b 28–30; see COMMENTS ad loc.). The λόγος ταμιακός, attested in Egyptian papyri,<sup>4</sup> is the equivalent of the λόγος κυριακός, both describing the *fiscus*. It is possible that the ]φύλαξ and the document said to be received (or retrieved) by him are connected with imperial properties and imperial monies (i.e. the *fiscus*), perhaps, one may cautiously suggest, with an imperial estate.<sup>5</sup>

L. 1 ]φύλαξ ἀνάλαβον ταύτης τῆς ταμικῆς τὸ ἀν[τί]γρ[αφο]ν. The procedure of subscribing on the original the existence of a copy in a public archive recalls the formula ἔσχον τούτου τὸ ἴσον, which often occurs in Egyptian documents, e.g. BGU I 28 (183 CE) line 22: Διογένης κωμογραμματεὺς ἔσχον τούτο(ν) τὸ ἴσον; P.Col.You. II 73 lines 23–24: Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἰέραξ ὁ καὶ Μῶρος γυμ(νασιαρχήσας) βιβλιοφύλαξ ἔσχον τούτου τὸ ἴσον εἰς καταχωρισμόν. Cf. COMMENTS to Jer 16 18.

L. 2 A few letters can be easily recognized: *iota*, *omicron*, *sigma*, and *phi* close to the beginning of the line, and later on another *phi* and *rho*; but the rest of the letters defy all attempts to arrive at any intelligible combination which will yield either a Greek word or anything resembling a name.

<sup>1</sup> For the registration and archiving of public and private documents in Roman Egypt, see W. E. H. Cockle, ‘State Archives in Graeco-Roman Egypt from 30 BC to the Reign of Septimius Severus’, *JEA* 70 (1984) 106–22, and F. Burkhalter, ‘Archives locales et archives centrales en Égypte romaine’, *Chiron* 20 (1990) 191–216.

<sup>2</sup> See also P.Oxy. I 106 (135 CE); I 107 (123 CE), I 178 (117–138 CE = SB VIII 9766), published by A. E. Samuel, ‘Six Papyri from Hamilton College’, *JYP* 13 (1961) 39–42; III 610 (116 CE), published as P.Cair.Preis 32, and P.Oxy. XXXVI 2759 (116 CE).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. τῶν ταμιακῶν ἰτρων, P.Abinn. I 9 (342–351 CE) line 11; κυβερ(νήτου) πλοίου ταμιακοῦ, Pamh. II 138 (326 CE) line 5 (cf. P.Cair. Isid. 50 [310 CE] 1 line 3); [διὰ τ]αμιακοῦ ἐξυπ[ηρέτου], P.Giess. I 102, 7 (317 CE?) line 7; οὐσία ταμιακή, P.Lips. I 101 (4th century CE), 2 line 21; αἱ ταμιακαὶ οὐαίαι, P.Oxy. I 58 (288 CE) line 21; ταμιακῶν ἵππων, P.Mich. IX 548 (298 CE) line 4; ἀπὸ τῶν ταμιακῶν χρῆ[μάτων], P.Panop.Beatty I 1 (298 CE), 1 line 9; Οὐαλέριος Μέλας ὁ κράτιστος ἐπίτροπος πριουατῶν ταμιακῶν, P.Panop.Beatty I 1 (298 CE) 14 line 365 (Panop; 298 CE).

<sup>4</sup> WChr. 466 (4th century CE) line 6: ἀπὸ τοῦ ταμιακοῦ λόγου; cf. P.Oxy. XII 1414 (270–275 CE) line 8: ἀπὸ τοῦ τα[μ]ι[α]κοῦ λόγου].

<sup>5</sup> See R. P. Salomons, *Papyri Bodleianae* I (Amsterdam, 1996) 265 ad no. 143 line 5, for interpretations of ταμιακοί, and B. Kramer on the εἰσιτολόγοι ταμιακοῦ in *Das Archiv des Nephros und verwandte Texte* II. *Verwandte Texte aus der Heidelberger Papyrussammlung* (Mainz, 1987) 102–3, on no. 27 line 1. For imperial estates in the documents from the Judaeen Desert, see H. M. Cotton, ‘Land Tenure in the Documents from the Nabataean Kingdom and the Roman Province of Arabia’, *ZPE* 119 (1997) 255–65.

## 19–19h. Jericho pap gr (P. Jericho 19–19h)

(PLATES XX–XXI)

SEVENTEEN Greek fragments were found in 1993 on the terrace beneath the Abiḏor Cave. The fragments were collected from among the heap of dirt which fell from the entrance to the cave onto the terrace probably in the fourteenth century, when monks from the Quarantal monastery found shelter in this cave (see GENERAL INTRODUCTION). Most of the pieces are rather tiny, and they apparently belong to several documents.

Five pieces (*olim* frgs. a–e) clearly belong to one document, Jer 19. Jer 19b–f (*olim* frgs. i–m) seem to be fragments of double documents. In all of them the writing runs against the fibres on both sides of the surviving pieces of papyrus. Only a few words and single characters could be identified in them. See further TABLE 1.

The measurements and division of the fragments in this group are as follows:

TABLE 1: *Measurements and Group Division of Fragments*

Jericho	Group	Earlier Designations	Width (cm)	Height (cm)
19	I	a	3	7.2
		b	4.6	3.5
		c	1.5	4.4
		d	1	2.4
		e	2	2.6
19a	II	f	1.7	6.3
19b	III	i	1.6	2.3
19c	IV	j	4.5	2.2
19d	V	k	2	2.4
19e	VI	l	2.6	4.5
19f	VII	m	3	2.2
19g	VIII	n	1.9	2.1
		o	2.9	1
19h		g	0.7	2
		h	1.7	2
		p	0.9	3.6
		q	1.3	2.8



## 19. Jericho papWritten Order? gr (P.Jericho 19)

(PLATES XX-XXI)

OF FRAGMENTS a–e, which comprise Jer 19, only frgs. a and b show complete words. Frg. a seems to be from the right side of the original document. It is not possible in the current circumstances to offer any suggestions regarding the placement of the remaining four fragments. Judging by the hand in which they were inscribed, all five belong to the same document. Their fibres and colour agree with this assumption. The letters are large and very few ligatures can be traced.

Of the twenty-six partial lines in the five fragments, only a few words can be read or reconstructed. διέστειλεν in frg. b 2 may reveal something about the nature of the original manuscript. A mission is being assigned in which some of the people acting in this document were involved. Three names may probably be restored, one of which, Ἰωάνης (frg. a 2), is rather common in Judaeen Desert papyri. The other two could be Ἰσίων and Οὐαλέριος (frg. b). Since Ision(?) appears in the dative case, it seems that this person was ordered to do something, either by a superior governmental official, by someone he was working for, or with whom he was engaged in business. Was this assignment connected with the other two names mentioned here? To what is the numeral ἑπτα κ[αί . . . (frg. a 5) alluding? Does it have anything to do with the above order?

Mus. Inv. K28551  
IAA 649796–7/1

### Frg. a

1	αλλα[
2	Ἰωάνη[ς
3	πο επι.[
4	τοῦ ε.[
5	ἑπτα κ[αί
6	ιου ν[
7	αα.[
8	μ.[



## NOTES ON READINGS

L. 3 ἐπι.[ The stroke of ink following the *iota* could be a *sigma*, allowing the possible restoration of ἐπισ[τολή.

## COMMENTS

L. 2 Ἰωάνη[ς. Another person bearing the same name appears in Jer 16 1. Based on the evidence currently available, no connection can be made between these two people. Another possibility is that the same person appeared in both documents.

## Frg. b

- 1           *traces*  
 2           ]διέστειλεν[  
 3           ]Ἰσίονι Οὐαλ[έρι...  
 4           ].αλι ..[  
 5           ].[*c.3 letters*].[

## COMMENTS

L. 3 ]Ἰσίονι. Ision(?) and probably Valerius may be names of the same person. Since the ending of the second name is in the lacuna, the case in which it was written remains unknown.

Ision was not a common Jewish name. It appears only once in the texts collected in CPJ in a document from the 4th century CE (O. Mich 216 = CPJ III, 480; see also App. II, vol. 2, p. 181). Isak son of Ision delivers chaff on behalf of the village of Karanis (Egypt). Tcherikover includes this name in the list of Greek names used by Jews in Egypt.<sup>1</sup> The name Ision is absent from extant papyri from the Judaeen Desert and Arabia.

L. 3 Οὐαλ[έρι.... It is impossible to tell at the present moment whether the person in question was a Jew or a Gentile, since Jews developed the habit of bearing Roman names together with their Hebrew names. In P.Yadin-Lewis 18 34–35 (*Documents*, 78), one encounters Ioudas who is also called Cimber.

<sup>1</sup> See V. Tcherikover, *The Jews in Egypt in the Hellenistic–Roman Age in the Light of the Papyri* (Jerusalem, 1963) 191 (Hebrew).

## Frg. c

1 ]ηπυο[  
 2 ]δων[  
 3 ]τει[  
 4 ]ε μη [  
 5 ].[

## Frg. d

1 ]ωτ[  
 2 ]λυ.[  
 3 ].πα[  
 4 ]ος[

## Frg. e

1 ]το γ[  
 2 ]του[  
 3 ]αλα[  
 4 ]ωνυ.[  
 5 ].ούκ[



19a. Jericho pap Unidentified Text A gr (P. Jericho 19a)

(PLATES XX-XXI)

THE NATURE of this text (*olim* frg. f) cannot be determined.

Mus. Inv. K28551  
IAA 649796-7/1

- 1 ]...[  
2 'εν...] πόλει[  
3 ]μο.ει[  
4 ]πυ..[  
5 ].....[  
6 *traces*

NOTES ON READINGS

L. 2 πόλει[. πόλις appears in the dative case twice in Judaeen Desert documents (P. Yadin-Lewis 16 11, a registration of land [Lewis, *Documents*, 66]; XHev 62 a 10, a land declaration [*DJD* XXVII, 186]). In both instances, πόλει is preceded by the city of Rabbath-Moab. This is probably another instance where a city is mentioned before πόλει. In such a case, this papyrus fragment could be the remnant of some sort of a formal document.





**19b. Jericho pap**List of Witnesses? gr (P.Jericho **19b**)

(PLATES XX-XXI)

THE NAME/S(?) written on the *verso*(?) of this shred of papyrus (*olim* frg. i) may prove it to be a fragment of a double document. See NOTES ON READINGS *infra*.

Mus. Inv. K28551  
IAA 649796-7/1

*Recto*

1 ]ει ... ρα[  
2 ]χτα[

*Verso*

1 ]ο..[.].  
2 'Ιο]ύδας υ.[  
3 ]τα ...υ.[

NOTES ON READINGS

*Verso*

L. 2 'Ιο]ύδας. There are parts of three lines on the *verso*(?) of this fragment. Names of witnesses might have been inscribed here, Ioudas being one of them.



**19c–h.** Jericho pap Unidentified Texts B gr (P. Jericho **19c–h**)

(PLATES XX–XXI)

Mus. Inv. K28551  
IAA 649796–7/1

**Jer 19c**

*Recto*

- 1 ]υ. ι.ι.[  
2 ]πλρ ...[c.2 letters].[

*Verso*

- 1 ] *traces*  
2 ] *traces*  
3 ] *traces*

**Jer 19d**

*Recto*

- 1 ]...[  
2 ]χ.ουσιϝ[  
3 ]υ....[  
4 ]*traces*



*Verso**traces***Jer 19e***Recto*

- 1           ]... σοί αυ.[  
 2           ]...μ..[  
 3           ]. και ...[  
 4           ].ρυπ[  
 5           ]λου[

*Verso**traces***Jer 19f***Recto*

- 1           ].λ[  
 2           ]σ...[

*Verso**traces*

**Jer 19g**

The writing runs against the fibres.

1 ]...[

2 ].καὶ ἐπ[α

**Jer 19h**

Jer **19h** consists of five unidentified texts, previously known as frgs. g, h, o, p, and q, of which insufficient remains are extant to warrant a transcription.



## B. WADI SDEIR





# 1. SdeirGenesis

(PLATE XXII)

Previous discussion: O. Verf, 'Excavations in Jordan, 1951-1952: Wady el Marabaat', *ADAJ* 2 (1953) 82-8 (+ pl. XII); C. Burchard, 'Gen 35:6-10 und 36:5-12 MT aus der Wüste Juda (Naḥal Ḥever, Cave of the Letters?)', *ZAW* 78 (1966) 71-5.

A PHOTOGRAPH of frg. 1 of SdeirGenesis was first published as 'ḤevGen' by O. Verf and later transcribed from that publication by C. Burchard (Gen 35:6-10; 36:5-12). Two additional fragments, long since placed with the first but unpublished by Verf and therefore unknown to Burchard, belong to the manuscript. The manuscript transcribed in the present edition preserves the text of Gen 35:6-10, 26-29; 36:1-2, 5-17.

The leather of the manuscript is moderately thin.<sup>1</sup> It is medium brown at the centre of frg. 1 but darkened and more brittle along some edges (see the left edge of frg. 1 and the right edges of frgs. 2-3). It is well prepared on the inscribed *recto* (hair side), and somewhat smooth on the *verso* (flesh side). No top or bottom margins are preserved, but right margins are extant on frgs. 1 ii and 2, and left margins are preserved on frgs. 1 i and 3. The right margin on frg. 2 measures 1.6 cm from the right marginal ruling to the edge at its widest point (line 10), and the remains of stitching can be seen along this edge, though no *points jalons* are preserved. An intercolumnar margin measuring 1.85 cm is preserved on frg. 1. Dark blotches which are not ink appear in the intercolumnar margin of frg. 1.

The manuscript exhibits very clear horizontal and vertical ruling, even in damaged areas. The tops of normal letters do not touch the horizontal ruling, and the initial letters of lines begin within and never touch the vertical marginal rulings. At the left margins the letters sometimes touch the ruling but usually stay within. Line-spacing varies from 0.7 to 0.85 cm.

The number of letter-spaces per line is estimated at 35-45 for col. I and 33-43 for col. II. Neither column preserves the full length of an entire line, but the inscribed width can be estimated for both columns on the basis of extant text on frg. 1 ii. The average number of letter-spaces per line on frg. 1 ii 2-12 is 37. Line 3 requires exactly 37 letter-spaces if reconstructed according to  $\aleph$ , and 29 of these letter-spaces (78 percent) are extant. The width of extant text is approximately 7.8 cm, or 27 mm per letter-space. The eight missing letter-spaces would require 2.2 additional centimetres (8 x 27 mm) for a total column width of *c.*10 cm. Col. I, which is slightly wider, can be estimated at *c.*10.8 cm (average 40.3 letter-spaces per line x 27 mm per letter).

The intercolumnar margin on frg. 1 and the right marginal stitching on frg. 2 together establish that frg. 2 must be from the bottom of the column represented by frg. 1 i rather than from the top of the subsequent column (frg. 1 ii). The preservation

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<sup>1</sup> The author wishes to thank E. Ulrich and C. Niccum for examining the leather in Jerusalem and offering many comments.

of text from two consecutive columns on frg. 1 and the fact that frg. 2 must derive from the bottom of col. I help to reconstruct the approximate number of lines per column. Frg. 1 ii preserves 13 consecutive lines of text, and frg. 1 i has text corresponding to lines 3–10. Approximately 19 lines of text would be required between the last extant letter on frg. 1 i (יְהוָה, line 10) and the first identifiable word on frg. 2 (וְלִפְנֵיהֶם), the second line on the fragment), assuming approximately 35–45 letter-spaces per line and reconstructing according to  $\aleph$ . Frg. 2 preserves eight lines of text from its first identifiable word, and in addition appears to preserve a horizontal ruling for a ninth line. Two further lines of text would be required to fill in the text between the end of frg. 2 (Gen 36:2) and the beginning of frg. 1 ii (Gen 36:5). It is impossible to determine whether the missing two lines were at the bottom of col. I or the top of col. II, but regardless of their location, the full height of col. I can be reconstructed at *c.*40 lines (10 + 19 + 9 + 2). The height of the inscribed portion of the scroll would have been *c.*27.6–33.4 cm (39 lines x 0.7–0.85 cm distance between lines + 0.3 cm height for a final line of text). An amount of text roughly averaging one-and-a-half pages in *BHS* would have filled each column. Since the first column preserved in this manuscript begins at Gen 35:4, approximately 37 columns would be required before this point, and approximately 18 columns would be required after col. II to reach the end of the book, for a total of *c.*57 columns.

The manuscript is inscribed in a late- or post-Herodian hand from approximately the second half of the first century CE (50–100 CE). The presence of sharply defined *keraiā* and the practice of suspending the letters well below the dry-line are characteristic of the period. J. T. Milik suggested that the script was similar to that of MurGen-Exod and MurXII, which he dated to the beginning of the second century CE.<sup>2</sup> F. M. Cross later correlated these two manuscripts to the latest scripts of Qumran, so that a broader and earlier range of dates is warranted.<sup>3</sup>

SdeirGen exhibits the same orthographic characteristics found in  $\aleph$ . One orthographic variant from  $\omega^{\text{mss}}$  is preserved at Gen 36:6 בְּנִחְיוֹ (col. II 3);  $\omega^{\text{mss}}$  בְּנִחְיוֹ. There is one correction in the text at Gen 35:9 (col. I 9), where 3–4 letters appear to have been erased.

One certain paragraph-division is preserved in the manuscript at Gen 35:8<sup>fn</sup> (col. I 8, end of line is blank and verse 9 begins at the right margin; פ  $\aleph$ , קצָה  $\omega$ ). A second paragraph-division can be reconstructed with confidence at 35:29<sup>fn</sup> (col. I 35, end of line blank with Gen 36:1 beginning at the right margin; interval 4QGen-Exod<sup>a</sup>, פ  $\aleph$ , קצָה  $\omega$ ). On one certain occasion, SdeirGen displays no interval where  $\aleph$  has a paragraph-division (Gen 36:8<sup>fn</sup>, col. II 8 = 4QGen-Exod<sup>a</sup>, פ  $\aleph$ , קצָה  $\omega$ ). A second occasion can be reconstructed at Gen 36:1<sup>fn</sup> (col. I 36, interval  $\aleph$ ; no interval  $\omega$ ).

The provenance of these fragments is unclear. The three were part of a lot of fragments purchased from the Bedouin through Khalil Eskander Shahin (also known as Kando) during the summer of 1952 and stored at the Palestine Archaeological Museum. The Bedouin reported that the fragments were from Wadi Sdeir (Naḥal

<sup>2</sup> '1. Genèse, Exode, Nombres', in *Les Grottes de Murabbaʿāt, Texte*, ed. by P. Benoit, J. T. Milik, and R. de Vaux (DJD II; Oxford: Clarendon, 1961) 75.

<sup>3</sup> 'The Development of the Jewish Scripts', in *The Bible and the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of William Foxwell Albright*, ed. by G. Ernest Wright (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1961) 139, 174.



David), and the PAM photographic log for July 25, 1952 designates them among the 'Sedeir Manuscripts'.<sup>4</sup> In 1953, O. Verf published a photograph of frg. 1 along with other fragments unearthed in controlled excavations at Wadi Murabba'at and Khirbet Mird,<sup>5</sup> but no explanatory reference to the Genesis fragment is made in his article. In 1956 at a congress in Strasbourg, J. T. Milik confirmed that the Genesis material did not belong to the Murabba'at finds; he could only say that the fragment was part of 'un autre lot de la Seconde Révolte, dont le lieu de provenance exact n'est pas certain'.<sup>6</sup> In 1961, when the Murabba'at finds were published, Milik referred again to the unknown origin of the Genesis manuscript (*DJD* II, 75). In his 1966 article, C. Burchard suggested that the fragment came from Naḥal Ḥever (Wadi el-Ḥabra), the venue of the recently discovered Babatha Archive and the Bar Kokhba documents. The manuscript has since been officially designated SdeirGen, in agreement with the original photographer's logbook.<sup>7</sup>

The photograph PAM 40.221, taken in July 1952 and used in this edition, contains all three fragments of the manuscript. The photograph published by Verf is apparently PAM 40.221: the shape of the cut-out photograph as it appears on Verf's plate XII suggests that frgs. 2–3, photographed close to the left side of frg. 1, were cut away from frg. 1 some time beforehand. It is unknown whether Verf himself cut the two fragments away for some reason (limitations of space on his plate?), or whether he received the photograph in this altered form. In any case, Burchard prepared his transcription from the photograph published by Verf, rather than from a complete copy of PAM 40.221.

Mus. Inv. 984  
PAM 40.221

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<sup>4</sup> N. A. Albina, 'Appendix 1: The Photographer's Logbook of the Photographic Sessions Taken at the PAM between 20.12.1947 and March 1961', in *Companion Volume to the Dead Sea Scrolls Microfiche Edition*, 2nd ed., ed. by E. Tov with collaboration of S. J. Pfann (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995) 76, 157.

<sup>5</sup> Mur 43, Mur 117 gr, and an Arabic papyrus fragment from Khirbet Mird.

<sup>6</sup> 'Le travail d'édition des manuscrits du Désert de Juda', in *Volume du Congrès, Strasbourg 1956* (VTSup 4; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1957) 20. Many of the other documents Milik introduces in his survey have been published in H. M. Cotton and A. Yardeni, *Aramaic, Hebrew and Greek Documentary Texts from Naḥal Ḥever and Other Sites, with an Appendix Containing Alleged Qumran Texts (The Seiyâl Collection II)* (*DJD* XXVII; Oxford: Clarendon, 1997).

<sup>7</sup> E. Tov, *Companion Volume*, 62; S. A. Reed, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Catalogue: Documents, Photographs and Museum Inventory Numbers* (SBLRBS 32; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994) 279.

## Col. I (Frgs. 1 i, 2) Gen 35:6-10, 26-36:2

ויבא י[עקב <sup>6</sup>	]				3
לזוה אשר בארץ כנען הוא בית אל הוא וכל הע[ם אשר					4
בית א[ל כי שם	]	(7)			5
ותמת דב[רה <sup>8</sup>	]				6
האלון[	]				7
v[acat				ויקרא שמו אלון בכות	8
//// וירא אלהים אל יעקב עוד בבאו מפרץ ארם ויבר[ך <sup>9</sup>					9
ש[מך	]	(10)			10
[	]				11
[	]	(11)			12
<i>(approximately 16 lines of text missing)</i>					
[	]	oo	(26)	29	f.2
				זלפ[ה שפחת לאה גד ואשר אלה בני יעקב אשר]	30
[	]		(27)	ילד	31
[				ממרא ק[רית	32
[				אברהם וי[צחק <sup>28</sup>	33
[				שנה ויגוע י[צחק <sup>29</sup>	34
[		vacat?		ימים ויקברו אתו עשו ויעקב בניו	35
[				ואלה <sup>36:1</sup>	(2) 36
[				מב[נות	37
[	]				38

## NOTES ON READINGS

A left margin is preserved on frg. 1 i, and a right margin with stitching is preserved on frg. 2. The evidence of margins and preserved text on these fragments and on frg. 1 ii indicates that frgs. 1 i and 2 belonged to the same column and that c.16 lines of text separated them (see introduction). Line numbers correlate to those in col. II.





with מ or ער שמך with מ.

L. 31 (35:27) Reconstruction suggests that this manuscript read אביו with 4QGen-Exod<sup>a</sup> (vid) מ<sup>ms</sup>Ⓞ La<sup>o</sup>Ⓞ<sup>ONJ</sup>Ⓞ, and not אביו בעורנו חי\* as in Ⓞ<sup>ms</sup> (τον πατέρα αυτού ἐτι ζωντος αυτού).

L. 32 (35:27) Reconstruction suggests that this manuscript read חברון with 4QGen-Exod<sup>a</sup>(vid) מ<sup>ms</sup> (חברון) מ<sup>ms</sup> [פ corr. s.m. in ב]; עברון; עברון (מ<sup>ms</sup>) La<sup>o</sup>Ⓞ<sup>ONJ</sup>Ⓞ<sup>ap</sup>Ⓞ, and not חברון בארץ כנען\* as in ⓄSyh (sub +)Ⓞ.

L. 35 (35:29<sup>fn</sup>) Reconstruction indicates that the scribe left the remainder of the line blank at the end of verse 29; interval 4QGen-Exod<sup>a</sup>, מ; פ (the text of Ⓞ agrees with מ<sup>ms</sup>). There is not enough space for the additional text found in Ⓞ (כפרכ יוכ אכוסק אכוס) Arab Syh.

L. 36 (36:1<sup>fn</sup>) Reconstruction indicates that the scribe did not leave a space at the end of verse 1; cf. interval מ; no interval מ.

L. 38 (36:2) It is impossible to know whether the text read בח צבעון with מ or בן צבעון with מ. Although one additional occurrence of this variant is expected in the text encompassed by this manuscript (36:10), the reading is just beyond the edge of extant leather (col. II 16).

Ll. 38-39 (36:3, 4) [בשמת]. It is impossible to know whether the text read (ו)בשמת with 4QGen-Exod<sup>a</sup>מ or (ו)מחלה with מ. Although two additional occurrences of this variant are expected in the text between frgs. 1-3 (36:10, 13), neither of these occurrences is preserved on the leather. For discussion of the variant, see Davila, *DJD* XII, 13.

Col. II (Frgs. 1 ii, 3) Gen 36:5-17

[ואת יעלם ואת ]ק[רח אלה בני עשו אשר ילדו]	1
[לו ב]ארץ כנען <sup>6</sup> ויקח עשו את נשיו ואת בניו]	2 f.1ii
ואת בנתיו ואת כל נפשות ביתו וא[ת מקנהו]	3
ואת כל בהמתו ואת כל קנינו אשר[ו] רכש בארץ]	4
כנען וילך אל ארץ מפני יעקב[ו] אחיו <sup>7</sup> כי היה]	5
רכושם רב משבת יחדו ולא יכלה[ו] ארץ מגוריהם]	6
לשאת אתם מפני מקניהם <sup>8</sup> וי[שב עשו בהר]	7
שעיר עשו הוא אדום <sup>9</sup> ואלה ת[לדות עשו אביו]	8
אדום בהר שעיר <sup>10</sup> אלה שמו[ת בני עשו אליפז]	9
בן עדה אשת עשו רעואל[ו] בן בשמת אשת עשו]	10
<sup>11</sup> ויהיו בני אליפז תימן אומל[ו] צפו וגעתם וקנז]	11
<sup>12</sup> ותמנע היתה פילגש לאל[יפז בן עשו ותלד]	12
לא[ל]יפז א[ת] ע[מ]ל[ק] אלה בני עדה אשת עשו]	13
<sup>13</sup> וואלה בני רעואל נחת וזר[ח] שמ[ה] ומוזה אלה היו]	14 f.3
[בני בשמת אשת עשו <sup>14</sup> ואלה היו ב[ני] אהליבמה]	15



- 36:10 (9-10) [בן] 2°  $\epsilon^{ON}$  La<sup>1</sup>  $\omega$   $\omega$   $\omega$  4QGen-Exod<sup>a</sup> [אליפו] בן עדה אשת עשו \ [טסו] (ו) רעואל בן בשמת אשת עשו  
 $S^{ap}$  רעואל בן בשמת אשת עשו > tr S; ]  $J$  (בת =
- 36:11 (11)  $\omega^{mss}$  אמר;  $\omega$  ואמר ]  $\omega$  אמר
- 36:12 (12)  $\omega^{mss}$  יחמנה ]  $\omega$  ותמנע
- 36:12 (12)  $\omega^{mss}$  פלגש ]  $\omega$  פילגש
- 36:16 (19)  $\omega$  > ]  $\omega$  אלוף קרח
- 36:17 (21)  $\omega^{mss}$  נהת ]  $\omega$  נחת

## COMMENTS

Ll. 3-4 (36:6) Preserved and reconstructed text agrees with  $\omega$ , whereas in 4QGen-Exod<sup>a</sup> part of the verse is missing (Davila proposes the following incidence of haplography: ואת מקנהו ואת כל בהמתו ואת ואת כל [ואת כל ואת כל] is also possible [*DJD* XII, 13]).

L. 9 (36:9) אדם. Burchard erroneously transcribed אדם (p. 73).

L. 10 (36:10) [בשמת]. See COMMENTS on col. I 38-39.

L. 15 (36:13) [בשמת]. See COMMENTS on col. I 38-39.

L. 16 (36:14) [בת צבעון]. See COMMENTS on col. I 38.



## 2. Sdeir papPromissory Note? ar

(FIG. 26, PL. XXIII)

THIS DOCUMENT is written on a small papyrus sheet and appears to be a well-erased palimpsest (traces of erased ink are apparent under the text). Its maximal measurements are *c.* 11.9 x 9 cm. The document is dated to the 6th of Adar, in the third year of the redemption of Israel. The rest of the date formula is damaged but probably continued with the words 'by Shim'on bar Kosibah', and therefore the document may be dated to the third year of the Bar Kokhba Revolt, i.e. 135 CE. The language is Aramaic and the script is the 'Jewish' cursive hand of the early second century CE.

The nature of this deed is not quite clear due to the difficulty in restoring lines 2–4, but it would appear to be some kind of promissory note, one of only four promissory notes among the documentary texts from the Judaean Desert. Three are in Aramaic: Mur 18, a papyrus loan bill dated to the second year of Nero (54–55 CE);<sup>1</sup> 4Q344,<sup>2</sup> a hide fragment; and this text. The fourth is in Hebrew: XHev/Se 49, a loan bill written on hide, dating from the 2nd of Kislev, the second year of the redemption of Israel by Shim'on bar Kosibah (133 CE).<sup>3</sup> Although there is a certain resemblance in part of their formulation as well as in their small size, these four notes differ from one another in their contents as well as in their writing practices.

The Aramaic notes are damaged at their crucial lines and their texts could not be entirely restored. It is clear, however, that the text in these lines differs in each case. Mur 18 is a double deed with the witnesses' signatures on the *verso*, whereas the other three are simple deeds in which the witnesses signed inside, on the *recto*. However, the signatures in 4Q344, although on the *recto*, are perpendicular to the text, as in double deeds, whereas the signatures in XHev/Se 49 and in this document are parallel to the text. Being a 'simple' deed, this document was written parallel to the fibres and was probably folded from left to right, unlike Mur 18 which being a double deed was written perpendicular to the fibres and apparently folded downwards, from top to bottom.

Although the whole document has been preserved (except for small parts which were torn off at its upper and lower left corners), the text has been somewhat damaged. It contains remains from all eight lines of the body of the deed and the main part of the four lines of signatures. Below the text are the signatures of two witnesses, a feature common to the promissory notes mentioned above (except 4Q344 where the signatures are partly torn away and the remains of the text do not allow for a restoration of its width and consequent estimation of the number of its witnesses; one may, however,

<sup>1</sup> P. Benoit, J. T. Milik, and R. de Vaux, *Les grottes de Murabba'at* (DJD II; Oxford, 1961).

<sup>2</sup> A. Yardeni, in H. M. Cotton and A. Yardeni, *Aramaic, Hebrew and Greek Documentary Texts from Nahal Hever and Other Sites (The Seiyal Collection II)* (DJD XXVII; Oxford, 1997) 289–91. The provenance and date of 4Q344 are not known.

<sup>3</sup> M. Broshi and E. Qimron, 'A Hebrew I.O.U. Note from the Second Year of the Bar Kokhba Revolt', *JJS* 45 (1994) 286–94; see also Yardeni, *DJD* XXVII, 121–2. XHev/Se 49 is now in a private collection. Its provenance is not known.



assume by comparison that the number of witnesses required to sign a promissory note was two). It appears that in all four promissory notes the signature of the obligator was written by either the scribe or another person who signed on behalf of the obligator, 'at his word'.

### *Palaeography*

The script is the Jewish cursive hand of the early second century CE, written fluently and somewhat carelessly by a well-practised hand. The scribe is known only by his father's name, חזקיה. He signed for the obligator who was, apparently, illiterate (see COMMENTS). The handwriting of the signature is the same as that in the body of the text.

Except for *yod* and *waw*, which are practically identical, each letter has its own characteristic form (even *dalet* differs from *reš*, and *bet* from *kap*). The letter *he* has a final form (no word with final *alep* appears in this document).

There are only a few ligatures: the letters *mem* and *nun* in זמן (line 5) and מן (line 7); a ligature which perhaps represents the word זון (line 3); and three occurrences of *lamed* ligated to the immediately following letter: לך (lines 5 and 6) and לקבלדך (line 7).

### *Language and Orthography*

In the short text surviving in this document the definite article is indicated by *he* (e.g. חשלמחה, line 6). *He* instead of *alep* also appears in the negation particle לה (line 6); the only parallel of this known to me is in an Herodian ossuary inscription.<sup>4</sup> The relative pronoun די and the preposition מן appear in their independent forms, which is regular in earlier Aramaic. If the reading is correct, לנאולה (line 1) is written *plene*, as is בכול (line 5).

The words אִי לה (line 6) deserve special discussion (cf. אִילא in P.Yadin 45 26; 46 9). The regular conditional particle in Aramaic is הן. (A negative protasis begins with לא הן, 'if not',<sup>5</sup> mostly with the perfect but sometimes with the imperfect as well.) The regular conditional particle in Hebrew is אם. In the Aramaic texts from the Judean Desert, הן is common but אם also occurs<sup>6</sup> (in the Hebrew documentary texts only אם appears). It seems that in all these occurrences אם is a Hebraism. The negative conditional expression אִילא, אִי לה, is apparently a result of the combination of אן (from הן)<sup>7</sup> with לא through the assimilation of *nun* with *lamed* and the doubling of the latter; the *yod* here represents the vowel *e*. Thus the word אִילא in the Hebrew deeds from Naḥal Ḥever is an Aramaism. The mutual influence between Hebrew and Aramaic was particularly prominent in

<sup>4</sup> É. Puech, 'Un inscription araméenne sur un couvercle de sarcophage', *ErIsr* 20 (1989) 161–5.

<sup>5</sup> Cf e.g. Dan 2:5, 9; 3:15; in Egyptian Aramaic e.g. *TAD* A3.10:5; B3.15–16; B46:6; B7.1:7; D7.56:7; and in the documentary texts from the Judean Desert, e.g. Mur 18 7; Mas 556 5; P.Yadin 1 16, 51 (Nabataean).

<sup>6</sup> See e.g. XḤev/Se 23 6; XḤev/Se 50 5; Mur 20 6, 8; P.Yadin 10 10, 14, 15; P.Yadin 54 6.

<sup>7</sup> Compare Syriac *ʿen* and Arabic *ʿn*. Cf. also אִילא in Galilean Aramaic, with a *dagesh* in the *lamed*. See E. Y. Kutscher, *Hebrew and Aramaic Studies* (Jerusalem, 1977); cf. also *alep* replacing *he* at the beginning of a word in *Apʿel* and *Itpaʿel* instead of *Hapʿel*, *Hitpeʿel* etc.



Exchange of deed	At any time that you will say to me I will exchange for you 6. th[a]t(?) deed.
Guarantee	(And) if it will not be received by you, then the payment 7. (will be) from my property and (from) whatever I shall acquire, according to that.
Simple deed?	Wrote(?)/The writ(?) 8. . . . (= is a simple one?) and they signed it(?) within:
Obligator's signature	9. Sha'ul son of Rabban, for himself; wro[te . . . ] 10. son of <i>H̄zqyh</i> at his verbal order
Witnesses	11. Yehudah son of Yishma[ʿel, witness;] 12. Yehosef son of . . . [ . . . , witness.]

## COMMENTS

Ll. 1–2 The date of the document is given by the month and year of the redemption of Israel. Although the beginning of line 2 is missing because the upper layer of the papyrus has peeled off, we may assume that it once contained, in either full or abbreviated form, the continuation of the date formula על ידי/ימי ישראל which is known from several deeds found in the Judaean Desert. The name of the place in which the deed was written is expected after the date, and then the name of one or more parties to the deed. However, it seems that a clause containing a word from the root פרע (the reading is not certain) precedes the name of the party in this deed.

L. 3 שׂאול בר רבן. This name which recurs in line 9 appears to be that of the obligator. It is not known from other documents.

Ll. 5–6 בשׂאול בר רבן / שׂאול בר רבן. This clause deals with the exchange of the deed. The phrase has already been discussed in the context of deeds of sale. In the three promissory notes mentioned in the introduction this clause does not appear. Here כדאי חוזה, 'as is fitting', which usually appears at the end of the formulaic phrase, is missing.

Ll. 6–7 אי לה יתקבל לך ותשלמחה / מן נכסי ודי אקנה לקבלך. This is the guarantee in case payment is not received by the creditor. It includes a phrase, the meaning of which is controversial. The present author prefers to regard this as a conditional clause, understood as 'if it (i.e. the payment) is not received by you, then the payment (will be) from my property and (from) whatever I shall acquire accordingly'. This interpretation takes the *waw* of ותשלמחה as the so-called *waw* apodosis,<sup>8</sup> indicating the result of the fulfillment or unfulfillment of the protasis.<sup>9</sup> Although lacking decisive proof, parallel (although not identical) clauses in Mur 18 7–8 and in the Hebrew deed XH̄ev/Se 49 10–11 as well as in Hebrew deeds of lease from Naḥal Ḥever (P.Yadin 45 26–27 and P.Yadin 46 9), may support this interpretation.<sup>10</sup> The interpretation based on the translation 'if not—it will be received by you' (= someone else will receive it for you) is, in my opinion, less convincing. For the rest of the formula, which has its parallels in deeds of sale from the Judaean Desert, see the discussion in *DJD* XXVII, 50.

L. 7 כתב. This is from the root כתב. It could be read with the word immediately preceding it, i.e. לקבלך, in which case the translation would be 'according to that writ'. From the graphical point of view this reading is preferable, as there is space at the end of the line. It could alternatively be connected to the following line, in which case כתב might be part of the verb כתבו, 'they signed'.

Ll. 7–8 כחב. Because of the uncertain reading of כחב at the end of line 7, an exact translation of this clause is difficult. The first letters in line 8 are illegible. The common root is followed by two short downstrokes which may be two *waws*, two *yods*, *waw* then *yod*, or *yod* then *waw*. None of these

<sup>8</sup> This pertains only in the case of promissory notes and not in the occurrences of this word in the deeds of sale, where it is not part of a conditional clause.

<sup>9</sup> See GK, §§112a, 159s for the use of *waw* apodosis in Biblical Aramaic; and T. Muraoka and B. Porten, *A Grammar of Egyptian Aramaic*, §84r (*TAD* A4.7:27; D7.7:7) for its use in Egyptian Aramaic.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Mur 18 7–8 לקבלך ודי אקנה לקבלך; XH̄ev/Se 49 10–11 לא <לא> יתקבל; P.Yadin 45 26 ודי אקנה לקבלך; P.Yadin 46 9–10 ודי אקנה לקבלך. The common root is followed by two short downstrokes which may be two *waws*, two *yods*, *waw* then *yod*, or *yod* then *waw*. None of these

forms is standard. It may be either a scribal error or the 3rd masc. pl. in the perfect with a pronominal suffix *yod* (instead of *he* and *yod*?). The formula somewhat resembles the clause preceding the signatures in XHev/Se 8a 14 כְּתוּבָא דְנָה פְּשִׁיט וְחָתֵם בְּגוּהָ, 'This w[ri]t is simple and signed within'. However, I have not, so far, succeeded in restoring the remains of the damaged letters in line 8 with the words דְּנָה פְּשִׁיט or even פְּשִׁיט alone. So although this suggestion is less appealing, it may be that כְּתוּבָא ends the clause in line 7 and a verb (perhaps כתבו) precedes וְחָתֵמוּ in line 8.

Ll. 9–10 שְׂאוּל בֶּר רַבִּין עַל נַפְשָׁה כְּתוּבָא [ ] מְמַרָה. The formula . . . [ ] מְמַרָה following the obligator's signature is in accordance with other deeds from the Judaean Desert.<sup>11</sup> The person in whose name the deed was written signed first 'for himself' (this means that he is responsible for the contents of the deed). However, if the obligator was illiterate another person signed in his name. Occasionally this was the scribe of the document as it is here (this may be concluded from the similarity of the handwriting). This situation is expressed by כְּתוּבָא, 'wrote' preceding the second name and מְמַרָה (<[?] מֵאִמְרָה, i.e. 'at his word' or 'at his verbal order') following the second signature.

Ll. 11–12 Two witnesses signed their names: Yehudah son of Yishma<sup>el</sup> and Yehosef son of . . . (his father's name is damaged). Yehudah and Yehosef are among the most common names appearing in the documents of this period, and several people named Yishma<sup>el</sup> are also attested in them. However, as far as I know, no other Yehudah son of Yishma<sup>el</sup> appears in the corpus of documentary texts from the Judaean Desert.

<sup>11</sup> See e.g. Mur 18 10; Mur 21 24 ( [ ] מֵן מְמַרָה ); XHev/Se 8a 15; XHev/Se 50 27; 4Q345 21; and the Hebrew deed P.Yadin 44 28–29, 30 (מֵאִמְרָו).







C. NAHAL HEVER AND NAHAL HEVER/WADI SEIYAL



## Biblical Scrolls from Naḥal Ḥever and 'Wadi Seiyal': Introduction

(PLATES XXIV–XXVII, XXIX)

IN addition to the Greek 'Minor Prophets Scroll' from Naḥal Ḥever (8ḤevXII gr), four biblical scrolls were found at 'Naḥal Ḥever/Wadi Seiyal': 5/6ḤevNum<sup>a</sup>, XḤev/SeNum<sup>b</sup>, XḤev/SeDeut, and 5/6ḤevPs. This short introduction addresses the complexities surrounding the discovery of these manuscripts and the sigla used to denote them.

The four scrolls were originally assigned for publication to the late J. C. Greenfield, who produced an overview and description in 1992,<sup>1</sup> and subsequently to the present editor.<sup>2</sup>

### *Discovery of the Scrolls*

The bulk of the Naḥal Ḥever material, including 8ḤevXII gr, was discovered by the Bedouin in 1951 or 1952, together with many non-biblical texts.<sup>3</sup> The Bedouin claimed to have found all these scrolls at Wadi Seiyal (Naḥal Ṣe'elim) and subsequently sold them in the Jordanian sector of Jerusalem to the Palestine Archaeological Museum (now the Rockefeller Museum).

However, even in the 1950s there was uncertainty as to where precisely this material had been discovered. The first two texts (both non-biblical) were published in 1954 as coming from 'près de la Mer Morte'.<sup>4</sup> Later excavations by Y. Yadin would provide conclusive proof that all five 'Wadi Seiyal' biblical scrolls had been found by the Bedouin at Naḥal Ḥever (Wadi Khabra) in Israel. However the Bedouin had reported them as coming from Wadi Seiyal (about 9 km further south and part of Jordan) in order to legitimize their possession of the scrolls.<sup>5</sup>

During the 1960–61 season, Yadin's team excavated the Naḥal Ḥever caves.<sup>6</sup> Among many other manuscripts, they found small fragments belonging to the 'Wadi Seiyal' scrolls previously discovered by the Bedouin, including: a fragment of the Nabataean

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<sup>1</sup> 'The Texts from Naḥal Ṣe'elim (Wadi Seiyal)', in *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid, 18–21 March 1991*, ed. by J. Trebolle Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner (STDJ 11.2; Leiden: E. J. Brill; Madrid: Universidad Complutense, 1992) 661–5, esp. 661–3.

<sup>2</sup> I remain most grateful to Prof. Greenfield for this opportunity, and dearly wish that he had lived to see the completed edition of the Naḥal Ḥever biblical scrolls.

<sup>3</sup> See E. Tov with the collaboration of S. J. Pfann, *Dead Sea Scrolls on Microfiche. Facsimile Edition*, 64–66; S. A. Reed et al., *Dead Sea Scrolls Catalogue*, 263–8.

<sup>4</sup> J. Starcky, 'Un contrat nabatéen sur Papyrus', *RB* 61 (1954) 161–81; cf. J. T. Milik, 'Un contrat juif de l'an 134 après J.-C.', *RB* 61 (1954) 182–90.

<sup>5</sup> For further discussion as to provenance, see H. M. Cotton and A. Yardeni, *Aramaic, Hebrew and Greek Documentary Texts from Naḥal Ḥever and Other Sites* (DJD XXVII; Oxford: Clarendon, 1997) 1–6.

<sup>6</sup> 'The Expedition to the Judaeen Desert, 1960, Expedition D', *IEJ* 11 (1961) 36–52 + plates; 'The Expedition to the Judaeen Desert, 1961, Expedition D', *IEJ* 12 (1962) 227–57 + plates.

text published earlier by Starcky,<sup>7</sup> fragments of the Greek Minor Prophets Scroll from cave 8,<sup>8</sup> and a small fragment from Numbers and another fragment from Psalms.

The small Psalms fragment was found on 3 April 1960 near the western wall of the first chamber of the Cave of Letters,<sup>9</sup> and in March of the following year, the small Numbers fragment was discovered in the recess of the eastern entrance to the same cave.<sup>10</sup> The two biblical scraps were accordingly listed as 5/6HevNum and 5/6HevPs, with the large, three-chambered cave classified as 'Cave Five-Six', since it has two openings.

In more recent years, S. J. Pfann has reiterated (private communication) the strong likelihood that Yadin's two fragments are part of the corresponding Numbers and Psalms scrolls supposedly found at Wadi Seiyal. On two separate occasions in the summers of 1995 and 1996, the present author was able to compare these two small pieces with the much more extensive 'Wadi Seiyal' fragments of Numbers and Psalms at the Rockefeller Museum.<sup>11</sup> For both the Numbers and Psalms scrolls, similarities in the script and in the texture and appearance of the leather confirm that the two fragments found by Yadin at Naḥal Ḥever are indeed part of the larger scrolls discovered earlier by the Bedouin; specific details are provided in the editions of 5/6HevNum<sup>a</sup> and 5/6HevPs that follow.

The tiny dimensions of Yadin's fragments exclude the possibility that the two manuscripts had been divided into sizeable sections and taken to different locations. The most reasonable assumption is that the Bedouin had indeed found the first Numbers scroll and the Psalms scroll at Naḥal Ḥever, had accidentally left portions behind, and that Wadi Seiyal (Naḥal Še'elim) should thus be excluded as the location of discovery. It also seems reasonable to conclude that the other two scrolls presented in this volume (the second Numbers scroll and the Deuteronomy scroll) were likewise from Naḥal Ḥever. These scrolls were probably also found in cave 5/6, but this cannot be demonstrated since Yadin found no fragments from these manuscripts in that cave.

### *Sigla for the Manuscripts*

Different types of sigla are used in the literature for designating these four scrolls. For the 'Seiyal' portions recorded in the first column, XHev/Se refers to an unknown cave ('X') in Naḥal Ḥever, traditionally named Wadi Seiyal. With respect to the Numbers and Psalms scrolls of which both the Bedouin and Yadin recovered pieces, the 'Ḥever' portions are indicated in the second column. 5/6HevNum originally denoted Num 20:7-8 only, and 5/6HevPs denoted only Ps 15:1-16:1, while the more complete present manuscripts are designated 5/6HevNum<sup>a</sup> and 5/6HevPs, respectively. Whereas 5/6HevNum is clearly distinguished from 5/6HevNum<sup>a</sup>, for the Psalms scroll no new

<sup>7</sup> Y. Yadin, 'Expedition D' (1962) 229.

<sup>8</sup> B. Lifshitz, 'The Greek Documents from the Cave of Horror', *IEJ* 12 (1962) 201-7; E. Tov, *The Greek Minor Prophets Scroll from Naḥal Ḥever (8HevXII gr)* (DJD VIII; Oxford: Clarendon, 1990) 1.

<sup>9</sup> Y. Yadin, 'Expedition D' (1961) 40 + pl. D.

<sup>10</sup> Y. Yadin, 'Expedition D' (1962) 229 + pl. D.

<sup>11</sup> The two Naḥal Ḥever fragments had previously been housed separately at the Shrine of the Book and were only permanently transferred to the Rockefeller Museum in 1994.

siglum has been introduced for distinguishing the smaller, 'Hever' portion from the fuller manuscript.

TABLE 1: *Sigla for the Manuscripts*

'Seiyal' Portion		'Hever' Portion		Current Name
XHev/SeNum <sup>a</sup>	XHev/Se 1 (Se I)	5/6HevNum	5/6Hev 1a	5/6HevNum <sup>a</sup>
XHev/SeNum <sup>b</sup>	XHev/Se 2 (Se I)			XHev/SeNum <sup>b</sup>
XHev/SeDeut	XHev/Se 3 (Se I)			XHev/SeDeut
XHev/SePs	XHev/Se 4 (Se II–IV)	5/6HevPs	5/6Hev 1b	5/6HevPs

Arabic numbers have also been employed for the scrolls from 'Seiyal' (1–4) and 'Hever' (1a, 1b). Furthermore, Roman numerals are used for specifying the tab numbers on the individual plates of the Seiyal series. In this system, the two Numbers scrolls and the Deuteronomy fragment are found on plate Se I, whereas the large Psalms scroll occupies plates Se II–IV. In the editions that follow, these tab numbers and the relevant PAM numbers are indicated for each manuscript.

For purposes of clarity, it is suggested that henceforth for all these fragments the names in the final column ('Current Name') be used. This suggestion corresponds to the proposal by E. Tov (*DJD* VIII, p. 1) that the siglum 8HevXII gr be used for the other biblical manuscript (the Greek Minor Prophets Scroll) from Naḥal Hever that was also allegedly found at Wadi Seiyal.





## 1a. 5/6HevNumbers<sup>a</sup>

(PLATE XXIV)

Previous discussion: P. W. Flint and A. E. Alvarez, 'The Preliminary Edition of the First Numbers Scroll from Nahal Hever', *BBR* 9 (1999) 137–43; J. C. Greenfield, 'The Texts from Nahal Hever (Wadi Seiyal)', in *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid. 18–21 March 1991*, ed. by J. Trebolle Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner (STDJ 11; Leiden: E. J. Brill; Madrid: Universidad Complutense, 1992) 2.661–5, esp. 661–3; Y. Yadin, 'Expedition D—The Cave of Letters', *IEJ* 12 (1962) 227–57, esp. 228–9 + pl. 48D.

FOUR small fragments preserve portions of Num 19:2–4, 20:7–8, as well as one unidentified piece. The only other scroll from any site in the Judaean Desert also to preserve text from these chapters is 4QNum<sup>b</sup> (Num 19:1–6; 20:12–13b, 16–17, 19–29).

These fragments were once thought to be from two different manuscripts (with frgs. 1, 2, and 4 allegedly found at Wadi Seiyal, and frg. 3 at Nahal Hever), but this is no longer the case. The scroll is now identified as being from the Cave of Letters (cave 5/6 at Nahal Hever); for further details, see BIBLICAL SCROLLS FROM NAHAL HEVER AND 'WADI SEIYAL': INTRODUCTION. A physical comparison of the four fragments carried out in August 1996 yielded four reasons why frgs. 1–2, 4 and frg. 3 are part of the same manuscript: (i) The leather is identical. (ii) Similar horizontal rulings are evident. (iii) The shapes of several letters correspond: e.g. the *kerai* on <sup>ʔ</sup>*alep*, the broad *taw*, and the shapes of *het* and *qop*. (iv) The stance of the letters is very similar, e.g. <sup>ʔ</sup>*alep*.<sup>1</sup>

### *Physical Description*

The leather is tan in colour and thin. The surface is quite smooth on both the *recto* and *verso*, and was well prepared. The largest piece comprises frgs. 1–2, but on PAM 42.187 these are improperly aligned, with frg. 1 too far to the left. When the correct alignment is made (see transcription and pl. XXIV), the joined piece measures 2.4 cm in height by 4.8 cm across. Because no margins are preserved, the position of these fragments within the scroll cannot be determined. If frgs. 1–2 and frg. 3 belonged to the same column, it would have contained at least Num 19:2–20:8 and thus would have been very large.

There is no evidence of stitching. Horizontal rulings are visible, and the distance between the tops of letters in successive lines measures 6–7 mm. The number of letter-spaces per line is *c.*41.

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<sup>1</sup> The editor is grateful to E. Ulrich for confirming these observations after inspecting the fragments at the Rockefeller Museum in July 1998.

### Palaeography

The fragments are written in a late Herodian bookhand that dates from *c.*50–68 CE, and has palaeographical affinities with 4QDeut<sup>j</sup>, 4QPs<sup>b</sup>, XHev/SeNum<sup>b</sup>, XHev/SeDeut, and 5/6Hev/SePs.<sup>2</sup> The following late features may be noted: (i) <sup>2</sup>*Alep*, with its distinctive *keraiā*, has an oblique axis with the left leg panned as an inverted 'V' (e.g. אל אלעזר frg. 1 2; אתה frg. 2 3). (ii) At the top of the vertical stroke, the *lamed* has a *keraiā* which in earlier scripts was a hook (e.g. אלעזר frg. 1 2; אלעזר frg. 1 3). (iii) For both medial and final *nun*, the tick at the top of the stroke has become a *keraiā* (e.g. לפניו frg. 2 3; אין frg. 1 1). (iv) The head of final *pe* is curled under (e.g. לפניו frg. 2 3).

### Orthography and Textual Character

The orthography may be classified as sparing, in view of the consistent absence of *waw* as a vowel letter (אתה frg. 2 2; אתה frg. 2 3; [אהל] frg. 2 4; משה לאמר frg. 3 1). No scribal errors, corrections, or insertions are evident.

Too little text is preserved for a proper textual assessment to be reached. However, if the new alignment for frgs. 1–2 as represented in the transcription is correct, the amount of text found in  $\aleph$  Num 19:3 is too long.

Mus. Inv. 534 (for the 'Seiyal' fragments [frgs. 1, 2, 4]; tab number on plate: Se I; see BIBLICAL SCROLLS FROM NAHAL HEVER AND 'WADI SEIYAL': INTRODUCTION)

PAM 42.187 (frgs. 1–2)

P.Yadin 41 = 5/6Hev 1a (for the 'Hever' fragment [frg. 3])

Frgs. 1–2 Num 19:2–4

אשר אין בנה	1	
ונתתם אתה אל אלעזר	2	f.2
ושחט אתה לפניו ולקח אלעזר	3	
אהל מועד	4	

<sup>2</sup> F. M. Cross, 'Palaeography and the Dead Sea Scrolls', in *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment*, 2 vols., ed. by P. W. Flint and J. C. VanderKam (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1998–99) 1.379–402 + pls. 9–14, esp. pl. 10 lines 7–9.

*Suggested Reconstruction*

[אליך פרה אדמה תמימה אשר] אין ב[ה מום אשר]	1	
[לא עלה עליה על <sup>3</sup> ונתתם] אאתה אל אלע[זר הכהן מחוץ]	2	f.2
[למחנה ושחט] אתה לפניו <sup>4</sup> ולקח אל[עזר הכהן מדמה]	3	
[באצבעו והזה אל נכח פני אה] <sup>5</sup> [מועד מדמה שבע פעמים]	4	

## NOTES ON READINGS

L. 2 (19:3) אאתה אל [ . . . ]. There are seven ink-strokes on the top edge of frg. 2 2. The first two are the remnants of <sup>alep</sup>, followed by two bottom tips of *taw* (for the wide *taw*, cf. אאתה in line 3). Next come two bottom tips of *he*. The final stroke, which is misaligned below the right leg of *taw* on PAM 42.187, is actually the bottom right tip of the <sup>alep</sup> in אל. The plate included in the present volume was made by realigning the two pieces on PAM 42.187.

Ll. 2-3 (19:3) אאתה [ . . . אלעזר]. The intervening text (הכהן והוציא אתה אל מחוץ למחנה ושחט) as found in 4QNum<sup>b</sup> אא is too long for this format, while Ⓢ has an even longer text (εις τόπος καθαρόν = במקום \*טחור after למחנה). The absence of והוציא אתה אל would fit the required spacing and make sense ('And you shall give her to Eleazar the priest outside the camp and one shall slaughter her before him'); although admittedly unattested elsewhere, this is tentatively presented in the transcription. A different configuration would accommodate the full text of verse 3 as in 4QNum<sup>b</sup> אאא, but this then results in a lacuna towards the end of verse 2.

L. 3 (19:3) אאתה. The bottom right tip of *he* is visible to the left of *taw*.

L. 3 (19:4) אלעזר. A trace of the hook of *lamed* remains to the left of <sup>alep</sup>, and the distinctive ink-blob is visible to the left at the top of the fragment.

L. 4 (19:4) א[ה]. While this could be a supralinear letter, it is more likely *lamed* in view of the distinctive thick top.

## COMMENTS

The combinations אלעזר אאתה and אאתה לפניו ולקח are found only at this point in Numbers, although lines 2-3 do not align well with the text in א, אא, or Ⓢ (see NOTES ON READINGS on lines 2-3).

## Frg. 3 Num 20:7-8

א[ל משה לאמר<sup>8</sup> קח את המטה ] 1

*Suggested Reconstruction*

[א]ל משה לאמר<sup>8</sup> קח את המטה [והקהל את העדה] 1  
 [אתה ואהרן אחיך ודברתם אל הסלע לעיניהם ונתן] 2

The only photograph available is that printed in Yadin, 'Expedition D' (1962) pl. 48D, which is reproduced here.

*Unidentified Fragment*

Frg. 4

[פניה] 1

Frg. 4 is most likely part of this manuscript. It is not on PAM 42.187, but was added to Mus. Inv. 534 in the 1990s.

## NOTES ON READINGS

L. 1 [פניה]. The fourth letter is consistent with *he* not *waw*, thus eliminating the possibility of פניו.

## COMMENTS

The remains match three words from the book of Numbers: לפניהם (Num 10:33; 14:14; 27:17 *bis*), בפניה (Num 12:14), and פניהם (Num 14:5; 16:22; 17:10; 20:6).



## 1b. 5/6HevPsalms

(PLATES XXV-XXVII)

Previous discussion: P. W. Flint, 'The Preliminary Edition of 5/6HevPsalms', *JJS* (in press); J. C. Greenfield, 'The Texts from Naḥal Şe'elim (Wadi Seiyal)', in *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid. 18-21 March 1991*, ed. by J. Trebolle Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner (STDJ 11.2; Leiden: E. J. Brill; Madrid: Universidad Complutense, 1992) 661-5, esp. 661-3; Y. Yadin, 'Y. Yadin, 'Expedition D'', *IEJ* 11 (1961) 36-52, esp. 40 + pl. XXD; P. W. Flint, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls and The Book of Psalms* (STDJ 17; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1997) 43-4 + pl. VIII.

### *Contents and Physical Description*

THE surviving fragments of this manuscript preserve a substantial portion of text in eleven columns, with eighteen Psalms represented, ranging from Psalm 7 to 31 (see TABLE 1). 5/6HevPsalms is an important witness since it is the only Psalms scroll from the Judean Desert to preserve material from Psalms 7, 8, 10, 11, 14, 15, 23, 24, and 29. This is also one of the most substantial Psalms manuscripts in terms of material preserved, since only 11QPs<sup>a</sup> and 4QPs<sup>a</sup> contain a greater number of verses (whether wholly or in part). In addition to the Psalms scrolls found at Qumran, 5/6HevPsalms is one of three manuscripts from other locations containing text from the Psalter (the others being MasPs<sup>a</sup> and MasPs<sup>b</sup>).

TABLE 1: *Contents of 5/6HevPsalms*

Col.	Frg.	Preserved Contents	Estimated Contents	Lines per Col.
I-II	—	(not preserved)	[1:1-7:5]	[28]
III	1 i	7:13-8:1, 4-10	7:6-8:10	28
IV	1 ii	9:12-10:6	9:1-10:6	28
V	2 + 1 iii	10:8-10, 18; 11:1-5a	10:7-12:1	28
VI	3 + 1 iv	12:6-13:3; 14:2-4	12:2-14:7	28
VII	4	15:1-16:1	15:1-17:4ab	28
VIII	5	18:6-13a	17:4c-18:13ab	28
IX	6 + 7	18:17-43	18:14-43	28
X	—	(not preserved)	[18:44-22:3]	[28]
XI	8 + 9	22:4-9, 15-21	22:4-23:1	28
XII	10 + 11 + 12	23:2-6; 24:1-2; 25:4-6	23:2-25:7b	28
XIII-XIV	—	(not preserved)	[25:7c-28:9]	[28]
XV	13 i	29:1-2; 30:3	28:9-30:12	28
XVI	13 ii	31:3-22	30:13-31:24a	28
?	14	(unidentified piece)	(unidentified piece)	[28]

The leather is very thin and was originally light ivory in colour with honey tones; cf. frgs. 2, 3, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12. Some pieces, however, are now considerably darker (frgs. 1 and 5) or have faded (frg. 9). Frg. 1 is especially difficult to read, since portions of the surface are abraded and much of the writing has flaked off. Wormholes are clearly visible on frgs. 1, 3, 7, 8, 9, 13.

In its pristine state this was a fine and delicate manuscript, since both the *recto* and *verso* are smooth, and the writing surface was well prepared. With the exception of frgs. 1, 5, and 9, the writing is generally clear and easy to decipher. On frg. 9 there is a circular impression with several holes around its perimeter, which is clearly visible on the museum plate. It is difficult to account for this impression, which may be due to a patch or a hard object that was once placed on the leather.

Horizontal ruling is evident on frgs. 1, 2, and 13 and vertical ruling appears on frg. 1. Stitching holes appear on frgs. 8 and 9 (left), and 10? and 11 (right). Top margins are preserved on frgs. 8 and 10; right margins on frgs. 1, 3, 6, 8, 10, 11, and 13; left margins on frgs. 1, 5, 7, 8, and 9; and bottom margins on frgs. 1, 7, and 14. The preserved top margins measure 1.5–1.8 cm, the bottom margins 2.5–2.7 cm, and the preserved margins between columns (frgs. 1, 8, 10) are between 1.5 and 2.2 cm. The number of lines per column is twenty-eight, and the distance between successive lines ranges from 4 to 7 mm, but is typically about 6 mm. Because of the stichometric format, the number of letter-spaces per line varies greatly. Lines containing fewer or smaller cola have as little as 25 letter-spaces (col. XII 2, 7), but in cases where the stichometric format required a large amount of text in a line, the number can be as high as 62 spaces (col. XVI 5). The inscribed columns are approximately 8 cm in width.

Frg. 1 is the largest surviving piece, preserving considerable portions of four successive columns and measuring 12 cm vertically and 24.2 cm horizontally at its widest points. From these adjacent columns it is possible to estimate twenty-eight lines per column, which together with the margins yield a column height of 20.5 cm.

In the summer of 1991, A. Steudel examined the manuscript and made a reconstruction detailing the position of each fragment relative to the columns of the original scroll. She concluded that this scroll was rolled with the end on the inside, and the beginning on the outside.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, the surviving fragments represent cols. III–XVI of a much larger scroll which probably contained all 150 Psalms in some seventy-five to eighty columns, and was between *c.* 6.75 and 7.20 m in length, excluding the handle sheets. A second, somewhat less likely, possibility is that the original scroll contained only a Davidic Psalter (Psalms 1–41) in some 21 columns, measuring *c.* 1.9 m, excluding the handle sheets. Using this reconstruction and an electronic edition of *BHS*, the present editor has determined the precise contents and format of every column for which at least some text is present.

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<sup>1</sup> Thanks are extended to A. Steudel for her valuable contribution towards our understanding of the structure of 5/6HevPsalms.

### *Palaeography, Orthography, Morphology*

The script of 5/6HevPsalms is a formal bookhand that was described by A. Yardeni as 'Herodian, . . . early 1st century'.<sup>2</sup> Of the examples recently provided by F. M. Cross,<sup>3</sup> the writing is most similar to 4QDeut<sup>i</sup>; moreover, as indicated in the editions of 5/6HevNum<sup>a</sup>, XHev/SeNum<sup>b</sup>, and XHev/SeDeut in the present volume, it also has affinities with the script of those three scrolls and that of 4QPs<sup>b</sup>. A late Herodian date (c.50–68 CE) thus seems appropriate.

Features that identify the script as Herodian or late Herodian include the following: (i) For *ʾalep*, the characteristic Herodian *keraiā* is evident on the top right stroke and the oblique axis and left leg are penned as an inverted 'V'. When compared with those in XHev/SeNum<sup>b</sup>, however, this letter is not as heavily lined and squat and the right leg generally does not extend as far. (ii) For *bet*, the baseline is drawn from left to right, sometimes breaking through the right downstroke. (iii) For *dalet*, the horizontal often breaks through the right leg because of the manner in which the letter has been penned. (iv) For *he*, the right leg has been penned upward, moving into the horizontal and then into the left downstroke, leaving triangular marks of ink at the two top corners. (v) As is characteristic of the late Herodian period, *waw* and *yod* are usually distinguished, with *waw* generally longer than *yod*. (vi) For final *kap*, the head loops into the downstroke at the right shoulder, resulting in a raised juncture; this combines with the *keraiā* on the left tip to give the head a concave appearance. (vii) For *lamed*, what in earlier scripts had been a hook at the top of the vertical stroke has now become a *keraiā*. (viii) For final *mem*, the characteristic box-like shape of the Herodian period is very apparent. (ix) For *samek*, the form has become totally closed, and has taken on a somewhat triangular shape. (x) For *ʿayin*, the late tendency to rotate clockwise, so that this letter sometimes seems to be lying on its side, is evident. (xi) For *pe*, the heads of both the medial and final forms have become curled under.

TABLE 2: *Orthography*

Col.	Line	Psalm	5/6HevPsalms	𐤀	𐤁 <sup>mss</sup>
IV	15	9:15	אֱגִלָּה	אנילה	
V	4	10:9	לחסף	לחסף	
IX	7	18:20	ויציאני	ויציאני	
IX	12	18:26	גבר	גבר	גבור
IX	20	18:34	במותי	במתי	
XI	1	22:4	תהלות	תהלות	תהלת
XI	2	22:6	בשו	בושו	

<sup>2</sup> J. C. Greenfield, 'The Texts from Naḥal Ṣe'elim (Wadi Seiyal)', in *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid. 18–21 March 1991*, ed. by J. Trebolle Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner (STDJ 11.2; Leiden: E. J. Brill; Madrid: Universidad Complutense, 1992) 663.

<sup>3</sup> F. M. Cross, 'Palaeography and the Dead Sea Scrolls', in *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment*, ed. by P. W. Flint and J. C. VanderKam (2 vols., Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1998–99) 1.379–402 + pls. 9–14.



The orthography of 5/6HevPsalms is sparing, perhaps more so than  $\mathfrak{M}$ . The shorter morphological forms (ג- and ה-) are used consistently.

### *Textual Character and Other Features*

5/6HevPsalms contains very few variant readings against  $\mathfrak{M}^L$  as in *BHS*; most of the listed variants are against  $\mathfrak{M}^{mss}$ . (a) The most important variant is at Ps 15:3 (col. VII 3), for which the scroll contains only two of the three cola found in  $\mathfrak{M}$ ; v 3a (לא רגל) (על לשנו) is not present in 5/6HevPsalms. (b) It appears that the Davidic superscription for Psalm 15 was lacking, since verse 1 proper begins on the first line of col. VII. (c) As for the textually troubled acrostic Psalm now found in Psalms 9–10 in  $\mathfrak{M}$  (combined as Psalm 9 in  $\mathfrak{G}$ ), 5/6HevPsalms presents the textual form, also in two Psalms, that occurs in  $\mathfrak{M}$ . (d) The form of Psalm 18, much of which is preserved in cols. VIII and IX, is close to that found in  $\mathfrak{M}$ , and not the form in 2 Samuel 22.

The surviving text contains no errors, corrections, or supralinear letters (but see the NOTES ON READINGS on [בפעל] at col. IV 17, and on חטא[ח] at col. XII 28).

### *Format and Intervals*

The format is stichometric, usually with two cola to the line. The scribe was generally careful to separate cola in the same line by an interval typically of about 1 cm; however, some variation is evident, especially where he left shorter spaces in lines containing a large amount of text. In this edition, most of the intervals between cola are uniformly indicated by a space of 0.75 cm. On occasion, however, the scribe has left substantially larger intervals, either when a line required comparatively little text (e.g. cols. III 11; V 21; VI 8; IX 8, 13, 20), or when a shorter superscription was involved (e.g. cols. III 17; V 17). These longer intervals are also indicated in the transcription as far as possible. Because the intervals presented here follow a generally systematic pattern, it has not always proved possible to align words accurately in successive lines relative to one another.

In cases where the stichometric format demands a large amount of text in a line, the scribe has used smaller intervals, or even none at all, between cola. The preserved transitions with little or no such spaces are at cols. III 22 (partly preserved, a very long line); IV 15, 16, 18; VI 12; IX 7, 9, 10, 19, 25; XI 1, 2, 5, 10, 11, 12; XII 3, 4; XVI 7, 14, 15, 24, 25. For the same reason, the scribe occasionally wrote lines with little or no space between words; for example, col. IV 26 (אֱלֹהִים \ כֹּל \ מִזְמוֹתָיו) and 27 (מִרְאוֹת \ מִשְׁפָּטֶיךָ) and col. XI 1 (בְּךָ \ בִּשְׁחוֹ \ אֲבֹתֵינוּ) and 2 (בִּשְׁחוֹ \ וְלֹא \ בִּשְׁחוֹ).

Unless they begin at the top of a column (Psalm 9 in col. IV 1 [reconstructed], and Psalm 15 at col. VII 1 [but see the general note]), new Psalms consistently begin after a full one-line interval, even when the previous Psalm ends early in a line. For example, Psalm 7 ends in the first half of col. III 15, and is followed by the completely empty line 16, before the beginning of Psalm 8 in line 17.

TABLE 3: *Full-line Intervals between Psalms*

Psalms	Col.	Interval at Line	Preserved
7 + 8	III	16	x
9 + 10	IV	22	x
10 + 11	V	16	x
11 + 12	V	27	reconstructed
12 + 13	VI	10	x
13 + 14	VI	18	reconstructed
15 + 16	VII	7	x
16 + 17	VII	22	reconstructed
17 + 18	VIII	13	reconstructed
22 + 23	XI	27	reconstructed
23 + 24	XII	8	x
24 + 25	XII	21	reconstructed
28 + 29	XV	2	reconstructed
29 + 30	XV	16	reconstructed
30 + 31	XVI	2	reconstructed

Because of its close textual affinity with  $\mathfrak{M}^L$  and its stichometric structure, the missing portions of 5/6HevPsalms may be reconstructed with a high degree of confidence. Accordingly, this edition presents a full text for each of the ten columns that are represented, with a view to understanding the scroll as fully as possible. Although a few individual words in the reconstructed portions may have differed in the original scroll, and a few of the lines may have been arranged differently in terms of cola, the predictability of both the text and the format render such problems minimal.

Mus. Inv. 888, 890, 891 (tab number on plate: Se I; see BIBLICAL SCROLLS FROM NAHAL HEVER AND 'WADI SEIYAL': INTRODUCTION)

PAM 42.188\*, 42.189\*, 42.190\*; Y. Yadin, 'Expedition D', pl 48D (col. VIII)



[Cols. I-II Ps 1:1-7:5 No longer extant]

Col. III (Frg. 1 i) Ps 7:13-8:1, 4-10

- (1) [6] יִרְדַּף אוֹיֵב נַפְשִׁי וַיִּשְׁגַּ וַיִּרְמַס לְאָרֶץ חַיִּי
- (2) [וּכְבוּדִי לְעַפְר לְשֹׁכֵן סֵלָה <sup>7</sup> קוֹמָה יְהוּה בְּאֶפְדָּךְ]
- (3) [הַנְּשֵׂא בְעֵבְרוֹת צוֹרְרֵי וְעוֹרָה אֵלַי מִשְׁפַּט צוֹיֹת]
- (4) [8] וְעֵדֶת לְאֻמִּים תְּסוּבְּכָךְ וְעֵלְיָהּ לְמֵרוֹם שׁוֹבָה]
- (5) [9] יְהוּה יִדִּין עַמִּים שְׁפַטְנִי יְהוּה כְּצַדִּיקִי וְכַתְּמִי עֲלַי]
- (6) [10] יִגְמַר נֹא רַע רַשְׁעִים וְתַכּוֹנֵן צַדִּיק]
- (7) [וּבַחֵן לְבוֹת וְכִלְיוֹת אֱלֹהִים צַדִּיק <sup>11</sup> מִגְּנִי עַל אֱלֹהִים]
- (8) [מוֹשִׁיעַ יִשְׂרָאֵל לֵב <sup>12</sup> אֱלֹהִים שׁוֹפֵט צַדִּיק]
- (9) [וְאֵל זַעֲם בְּכָל יוֹם <sup>13</sup> אִם לֹא] [יִשׁוּב חֲרָבוֹ יִלְטוּשׁ]
- (10) [קִשְׁתּוֹ דֶּרֶךְ וַיִּכְוֶנָה <sup>14</sup> וְלוֹ הַכִּיָּן כְּלֵי מוֹת]
- (11) [חֲצִיּוֹ לְדַלְקִים] יִפְעַל <sup>15</sup> הִנֵּה יַחְבֵּל אֹזֶן]
- (12) [וְהִרְהַ עֵמֶל וַיִּלְדֵּ שֶׁקֶר <sup>16</sup> בּוֹר כְּרָה וַיַּחְפְּרוּהוּ]
- (13) [וַיִּפֹּל בְּשַׁחַת יַפְעַל] <sup>17</sup> [יִשׁוּב עֵמֶלּוֹ בְּרֹאשׁוֹ]
- (14) [וְעַל קִדְקְדוֹ חֲמָסוֹ יִרְדַּ <sup>18</sup> אֹדֵה יְהוּה כְּצַדִּיקוֹ]
- (15) [וְאִזְמֵרָה שֵׁם יְהוּה עֲלֵיוֹן] *vacat*
- (16) [ ] *vacat*
- (17) [8:1] לְמִנְצַח עַל הַגְּתִית] מִזְמוֹר לְדָוִד
- (18) [2] יְהוּה אֲדִינֵנוּ מֵה אֲדִיר שֶׁמֶךְ בְּכָל הָאָרֶץ]
- (19) [אֲשֶׁר נָתַתָּה הוֹדֶךְ עַל הַשָּׁמַיִם]
- (20) [3] מִפִּי עוֹלָלִים וַיִּנְקִים יִסְדַּת עֵן]
- (21) [לְמַעַן צוֹרְרֵיךְ לְהַשְׁבִּית אוֹיֵב וּמִתְנַקֵּם]
- (22) [4] כִּי אֲרֹאֶה שֶׁמֶךְ מַעֲשֵׂי אֲצַבְעֶתֶךָ יִרְאֵ וְכֹכָבִים] אֲשֶׁר [כֹּזֵב] נָתַתָּה
- (23) [5] מֵה אֲנוֹשׁ כִּי תִזְכְּרֵנוּ וּבֵן אֲדָם כִּי תִפְקְדֵנוּ]
- (24) [6] וְתַחֲסֵרְהוּ מֵעַט מֵאֱלֹהִים וְכַבוֹד וְהִרְהַ תַּעֲשֶׂרְהוּ]

כל שתה תח]ת רגליו	7]תמשילהו במעשי ידיך	25
וגם בהמות ש]י	8]צנה ואלפים כלם	26
ע]בר ארחות ימי]ם	9]צפור שמים ודגי הים	27
ב]כל האר]ץ	10]יהוה אדנינו מה אד]ר ש]מך	28

*bottom margin*

#### NOTES ON READINGS

The left and bottom margins are preserved for this column, which originally contained Ps 7:6–8:10. Psalm 7 ends in the first half of line 15, and the scribe left line 16 blank before penning Psalm 8.

L. 9 (7:13) [יל]טוּשׁ. The ink from the final letter seems too high for the expected *šin*, but no Hebrew variants for this word are indicated in the apparatus of *BHS*.

L. 10 (7:13<sup>fin</sup>) (וי]כֹּונָה). Random ink spots appear after this word, as occurs frequently in this manuscript.

L. 11 (7:15) און. Although the top of the third letter has flaked away, sufficient ink remains to identify it as final *mun*.

L. 12 (7:16) ויחפדו. A vertical fissure in the leather has split the top of *reš* (cf. also the *alep* of בראשו in line 13, and the *dalet* of כצדקו in line 14).

L. 13 (7:16) יפעל. The tip of *lamed* is just visible below the *šin* of שקר in line 12.

L. 14 (7:17) ירד. From its position, the speck of ink preceding *reš* seems to be a random spot, although it could also be part of *yod*.

L. 15 (7:18) יהוה. Enough of the *he* remains to show that this manuscript reads יהוה with  $\text{מט}$ , not אלהים with  $\text{מ}^{\text{mss}}\text{ט}$ .

L. 17 (8:1) The blank leather indicates that the new Psalm began at the right margin, and that an interval of well over 3 cm separated על הגתית למנצח and מזמור לדוד; cf.  $\text{מ}^{\text{L}}$  (interval) and *BHS* (no interval).

L. 22 (8:4) [א]שר. In the photograph it is difficult to distinguish between shadow and the traces of *alep*.

L. 22 (8:4) [ב]ננצה. For the thick top of medial *mun*, cf. דנה in line 11.

L. 23 (8:5) אלים. On the edge of the leather stands the left tip of *dalet*. The final *mem* follows, with much of its top and bottom horizontal strokes no longer extant.

L. 28 (8:10) שמך. Only the top right and left tips of *šin* are visible. The two lines at the top of the following letter are difficult to identify, but seem to be the left diagonal and vertical stroke drawn down into the oblique of *mem*.

L. 28 (8:10) הארץ. There is an extraneous dot of ink between the two strokes forming the V-shape at the top of *sade* (cf. נאץ, col. IV 25).

#### VARIANTS

7:18 (14) מ<sup>mss</sup>ט בצדקו ] ט מ כצדקו

7:18 (15) מ<sup>mss</sup>ט אלהים ] ט מ יהוה

## Col. IV (Frg. 1 ii) Ps 9:12–10:6

- (1) [מזמור לדוד] 9:12 למנצח על מות לבן
- (2) [אספרה כל נפלאותיך] 2 אודה יהוה בכל לבי
- (3) [אזמרה שמך עליון] 3 אשמחה ואעלצה בך
- (4) [יכשלו ויאבדו מפניך] 4 בשוב אויבי אהור
- (5) [ישבת לכסא שופט צדק] 5 כי עשית משפטי ודיני
- (6) [שמם מחית לעולם ועד] 6 גערת גוים אבדת רשע
- (7) [וערים נתשת אבד זכרם] 7 האויב תמו חרבות לנצח
- (8) [המה] 8 ויהוה לעולם ישב כונן למשפט כסאו
- (9) [ידין לאמים במישרים] 9 והוא ישפט תבל בצדק
- (10) [משגב לעתות בצרה] 10 ויהי יהוה משגב לדרך
- (11) [יהוה] 11 ויבטחו בך יודעי שמך כי לא עזבת דרשיך יהוה
- (12) [הגידו בעמים עלילותיו] 12 זמרו ליהוה ישב ציון
- (13) [לא שכח צעקת עניים] 13 כי דרש דמים אותם א[כר]
- (14) [מרוממי משערי מות] 14 חנני יהוה ראה עניי [מ]שנאי
- (15) [אגלה בישון] 15 למען אספרה כל תהלתיו בשערי בת ציון אגלה בישון
- (16) [ר[ג]לם] 16 טבעו גוים ב[שחח] עשו ב[רש]ת זו [ט]מנו גלכדה [ר[ג]לם]
- (17) [בפעל כפיו נוקש רשע] 17 נודע יהוה [מ]שפט עשה בפעל כפיו נוקש רשע
- (18) [לה] 18 הגיון [לה] [ישו] ב[ר]שעים [לשאו] לה כל גוים שכחי אלהים
- (19) [תקות ענוים תאבד לעד] 19 כי לא לנצח [ישכח] [אב]יון [תקות ענוים תאבד לעד]
- (20) [יש] 20 [ק]מה יהוה אל יעז אנוש [יש] גוים על פניך
- (21) [יד] 21 שיתה יהוה [מור]ה להם [יד] גוים אנוש [המ]ה סלה
- (22) [vacat] [vacat] [vacat] 22 [vacat] [vacat] [vacat]
- (23) [לעתות בצרה] 23 [ל]מה יהוה תעמד ברחוק [תעלי]ם [ל]עתות בצרה
- (24) [חש] 24 בגאות רשע ידלק עניי [חש] במזמות זו חש
- (25) [חש] 25 כי הלל רשע תאזת נפשו [חש] ברך נאץ יהוה

- [<sup>4</sup>רשע כגבה אפו בל ידרש] אין אלהים כל מזמ[ותיו] 26
- [<sup>5</sup>יחילו דרכו בכל עת מ[ר]ו[ם] משפטיך מנ[גדו כל צורריו] 27
- [יפיח בהם <sup>6</sup>אמר ב[ל]בו בל[א]מוט לדר וד[ר] אשר לא ברע] 28

*bottom margin*

## NOTES ON READINGS

The right, left, and bottom margins are preserved for this column, which contained Ps 9:1–10:6. Originally beginning at the top of the new column, Psalm 9 closes at the end of line 21, followed by a blank line before Psalm 10.

L. 13 (9:13) דמים. The top of final *mem* is extant, including the tops of the two vertical descenders. The two dots of ink below are all that remains of the bottom horizontal line.

L. 15 (9:15) אנלה. The left leg of *gimel* (cf. רגליו, frg. 1 i 25) seems to have flaked off the leather. Sufficient ink remains to show that *yod* (cf. אנילה ז) was not present.

L. 15 (9:15) בשועתך. The bottom tip of final *kap* is discernible on the top edge of the leather.

L. 16 (9:16) ויחם. The top of final *mem* appears just before a hole in the leather.

L. 16 (9:16) צרשת. The bottom left tip of *bet* is preserved, touching the foot of *reš*.

L. 17 (9:17) בפעל. The two ink-traces to the right of *lamed* are most likely random dots, or perhaps part of a supralinear letter.

L. 18 (9:17) הגיון סלה. Not part of an actual verse, this note occurs in 5/6HevPsalms and מ<sup>L</sup> at the beginning of the line containing verse 18, but in *BHS* it appears at the end of the line containing verse 17. It is not clear whether this difference is by design or due to spacing considerations.

L. 18 (9:17) סלה. The dark area between *samek* and *he* on the plate is a shadow and not ink.

L. 18 (9:18) ישבנו. The top of *bet* is split.

L. 19 (9:19) אביון. The dark area where *bet* would have appeared is a shadow and not ink.

L. 21 (9:21) אנוש אומה. The ink-traces are very difficult to identify. No variants are attested elsewhere for these words.

L. 21 (9:21) סלה. The ink preceding the hole in the leather represents *samek*, and a trace of the bottom tip of *lamed* is visible just above the hole. The spot to the upper right of *samek* is a random dot of ink.

L. 23 (10:1) The new Psalm began at the right margin (thus also *BHS* and מ<sup>L</sup>).

L. 24 (10:2) השם. Following *šin* on the distorted leather there are traces of two letters, which are difficult to construe as *bet* and *waw* (cf. חשבו ז, with no variants attested elsewhere).

L. 25 (10:3) תאות. The relative positioning of words in lines 24 and 25 shows that this manuscript most likely contained the shorter text as in מ<sup>ms</sup>, not על האות as in ז.

L. 26 (10:4) כל מזמ[ותיו]. In 5/6HevPsalms, these words are clearly grouped with the preceding אין ידרש, whereas *BHS* presents them on the next line and suggests (note 4<sup>c-c</sup>) they should probably be joined to verse 5.

L. 27 (10:5) מ[ר]ו[ם] משפטיך. There is no space between the final *mem* and the following word (cf. אלהים כל מזמ[ותיו] in line 26).

L. 27 (10:5) מנ[גדו]. The trace of ink on the edge of the leather is most likely *nun*, since it is too far from the right side of *mem* to be its left tick.

L. 28 (10:6) ב[ל]בו. The ink-traces are difficult to identify, but there seems to be virtually no space between this word and בל which follows.

L. 28 (10:6) אמוט. The lower left tip of *mem* touches the bottom of *waw*.

## VARIANTS

9:14	(14)	זו חנני ] זמ <sup>mss</sup> חנני
9:14	(14)	זמ <sup>mss</sup> מנשאי ] זמז(שנאי
9:15	(15)	זמ אנילה ] אנילה [VAR. OR ORTH.?
9:21	(21)	זמ <sup>mss</sup> מורא ] זמ מור(ה
10:1	(23)	Psalms 9 and 10 separated (intervening blank line) זמ ] Psalms 9 and 10 joined זמ <sup>mss</sup> 6

Col. V (Frgs. 2 + 1 iii) . Ps 10:8-10, 18; 11:1-5a

[אלה פיהו מלא ומרמות ותך תחת לשונו עמל ואון]	(1)
[ישב ]במארב חצרים במס[תרים יהרג נקי]	2 f.2
[עי]ניו לחלכה יצפנו <sup>9</sup> יארב] במסתר כאריה בסכה]	3
[יא]רב לחטף עני יחטף עני במשכו ברשתו]	4
[ <sup>10</sup> ודכה ישח ]נפל[ בעצומו חלכאים]	5
[ <sup>11</sup> אמר בלבו שכח אל הסתיר פניו בל ראה לנצח]	(6)
[ <sup>12</sup> קומה יהוה אל נשא ירך אל תשכח ענוים]	(7)
[ <sup>13</sup> על מה נאץ רשע אלהים אמר בלבו לא תדרש]	(8)
[ <sup>14</sup> ראתה כי אתה עמל וכעס תביט לתת בידך]	(9)
[עליך יעזב חלכה יתום אתה היית עוזר]	(10)
[ <sup>15</sup> שבר זרוע רשע ורע תדרוש רשעו בל תמצא]	(11)
[ <sup>16</sup> יהוה מלך לעולם ועד אברו גוים מארצו]	(12)
[ <sup>17</sup> תאות ענוים שמעת יהוה חכין לבם תקשיב אזנד]	(13)
[ <sup>18</sup> לשפט יתום ורך ] בל יוס[ני]ף[ עוד לערץ]	14 f.1 iii
[אנוש ]מן הארץ vacat ]	15
[ ] vacat	16
[ ] vacat <sup>11:1</sup> למנצח לך]וד	17
ביהוה[ חסיתי ]איך[ תאמרו לנפשי נודי הרכם צפור	18
<sup>2</sup> כי הנה [הרש]ע'ים ידרכון קשת כוננו חצם על יתר	19
לירות במו אפל ל'שרי לב <sup>3</sup> כי השת[ות] ]יהרסון	20



צדיק מה פעל	21
יהוה בְּהִלְכֵךְ קדשו	
יהוה בשמים כס]או ע]יניו יחזו עפעפיו יבְּחֹנּוּ	22
בני אדם ] יהוה צדיק יבחן ורש]ע	23
[ואהב חמס שנאה נפשו <sup>6</sup> ימטר על רשעים]	(24)
[פחים אש וגפרית ורוח זלעפות מנת כוסם]	(25)
[ <sup>7</sup> כי צדיק יהוה צדקות אהב ישר יחזו פנימו]	(26)
[ <i>vacat</i> ]	(27)
[ <sup>12:1</sup> למנצח על השמינית מזמור לדוד]	(28)

## NOTES ON READINGS

The right and left margins are preserved for this column, which originally contained Ps 10:7–12:1. Psalm 10 ends in the first half of line 15, followed by the empty line 16 preceding Psalm 11. Psalm 12 must have commenced on the final line of the column following the blank line 27.

L. 17 (11:1) למנצח לדוד. The new psalm began at the right margin, with the entire line reserved for the short superscription (thus also *BHS* and  $\text{מ}^{\text{L}}$ ).

L. 19 (11:2) [הרשעים]. The extant letters are difficult to identify, but are consistent with the right and left legs of *ayin*, a trace of *yod*, and the right side and baseline of final *mem*.

L. 20 (11:2) לישרי. The top of *lamed* runs into the final *mem* of [הרשעים] in the line above.

L. 23 (11:5) ורשע. It is difficult to decide whether the ink-trace on the bottom edge of the leather is the top left tip of *ayin* or merely a random dot.

## VARIANTS

11:1	(17)	זז למנצח לדוד ] זז למנצח לדוד	Ⓞ $\text{זז}^{\text{mss}}$
11:1	(18)	זז נדוד ] זז נדוד	Ⓞ $\text{זז}^{\text{mss, gere}}$
11:2	(20)	זז כמו ] זז כמו	Ⓞ $\text{זז}^{\text{mss}}$
11:4	(22)	זז בשמים הכין ] זז בשמים	Ⓞ $\text{זז}^{\text{mss}}$

## Col. VI (Frgs. 3 + 1 iv) Ps 12:6–13:3; 14:2-4

[ <sup>2</sup> הושיעה יהוה כי גמר חסיד כי פסו אמונים מבני אדם]	(1)
[ <sup>3</sup> שוא ידברו איש אל רעהו שפת חלקות בלב ולב ידברו]	(2)
[ <sup>4</sup> יכרת יהוה כל שפתי חלקות לשון מדברת גדלות]	(3)
[ <sup>5</sup> אשר אמרו ללשננו נגביר שפתינו אתנו מי אדון לנו]	(4)

- 6 משד עניימ מאנקת א[ביונימ עתה אקום יאמר יהוה] (5)
- אשית בישע יפיח לו 7 אמר[ות יהוה אמרות טהרות] 6 f.3
- כסף צרוף בעליל לארץ [ מוקק שבעתים] 7
- 8 אתה יהוה תשמרם תצ[רנו מן הדור זו לעולם] 8
- 9 סביב רשעים יתהלכון כרם[ זלות לבני אדם] 9
- [ ] *vacat* 10
- 13:1 למנצח מזמור לדוד *vac*]at 11
- 2 עד אנה יהוה תשכחני נצח עד א[נה תסתיר את פניך ממני] 12
- 3 עד אנה אשית עצות בנפשי יגון בלבבי יומם] 13
- 4 [עד א[נה] ירו]ם איבי עלי 4 הביטה ענני יהוה אלהי] 14
- 5 [האירה עיני פן אישן המות פן יאמר איבי יכלתיו] (15)
- 6 [צרי יגילו כי אמוש 6 ואני בחסדך בשחתי] (16)
- 7 [יגל לבי בישועתך אשירה ליהוה כי גמל עלי] (17)
- [ ] *vacat* (18)
- 14:1 למנצח לדוד [ ] (19)
- 20 [אמר נבל בלבו אין אלהים השחיתו התעיבו עלילה] (20)
- 21 [אין עשה טוב 2 יהוה משמים השקיף על בני אדם] (21)
- 22 f.1 iv ל[א]ות היש משכיל דרש את אלהים 3 הכל סר יחדו] (22)
- 23 [נאלחו] אין עשה טוב אין גם אחד [ ] (23)
- 24 4 ה[א] ידעו כל פעלי און אכלי עמי אכלו לחם יהוה לא קראו] (24)
- 5 [שם פחדו פחד כי אלהים בדור צדיק] (25)
- 6 [עצת עני תבישו כי יהוה מחסהו] (26)
- 7 [מי יתן מציון ישועת ישראל] (27)
- 8 [בשוב יהוה שבות עמו יגל יעקב ישמח ישראל] (28)

## NOTES ON READINGS

The right margin is preserved for this column, which originally contained Ps 12:2–14:7. One-line intervals preceded the new Psalm 13 at line 10 (preserved) and Psalm 14 at line

18 (not preserved). Since cols. iii and iv of frg. 1 are physically joined, [נאלחו] . . . אחד (Ps 14:3) in line 23 is aligned with [ . . . ורשע] בני אדם (Ps 11:4-5) in frg. 1 iii 23. However, the configuration presented in *BHS* places it in line 24 (for the position of נאלחו, see the note below on line 23). 5/6HevPsalms thus contains a different configuration of cola that requires one less line, most likely Ps 13:3c-4a in line 14, where *BHS* only has verse 13c (see reconstruction). This also entails a different configuration for Ps 13:4-6 in comparison with *BHS*.

L. 6 (12:7) אמרו. A trace from the descender of *reš* is preserved on the edge of the leather; cf. השמר in line 8.

L. 7 (12:7) בעליל לארץ. 5/6HevPsalms places the interval after לארץ, whereas *BHS* has the interval after בעליל.

L. 11 (13:1) למנצח מזמור. The faded letters (*nun*, *mem* 3°) become clear under magnification.

L. 22 (14:2) ללאוח. For the thick foot of *lamed*, cf. על (frg. 1 iii 19) and לירוח (frg. 1 iii 20).

Ll. 22–23 (14:3) \סר יחדו\ נאלחו. The division of cola differs from that in *BHS* (הכל סר יחדו נאלחו).

L. 23 (14:3) נאלחו. For this word the alignment according to *BHS* would instead suggest אלהים at the beginning of verse 2 (in place of יודה מ, thus reflecting the form of this verse found in Ps 53:3, cf. *BHS* n. 2<sup>a</sup>). However, this reading is eliminated by the apparent *nun* before *alep* and the clear *het*.

L. 24 (14:4) הלא. All that remains of the *he* is a tiny dot of ink on the bottom edge of the leather, below the *alep* of נאלחו in line 23. The following letter is difficult to identify, but is conceivably part of a *lamed* whose top has mostly worn away. The ink-traces are less compatible with a variant reading beginning with קרב (see following note).

Ll. 24–28 (14:4-7) Both the traces of הלא and spacing considerations (Psalm 15 starts in the next column) show that 5/6HevPsalms contained the shorter text found in מ, not the much longer reading (beginning with קרב) that follows verse 3 in מ<sup>mss</sup> ט (= Rom 3:13-18; cf. *BHS* n. 3<sup>c</sup>).

#### VARIANTS

12:6	(5)	זו עניים ] זו עניים <sup>mss</sup>
12:7	(7)	זו בעליל לארץ ] זו בעליל לארץ [ 11QPs <sup>c</sup> ; δοκίμων ἦν ἡ γῆ ⚪
12:8	(8)	זו השמרנו ] זו השמרם ⚪ <sup>mss</sup>
12:9	(9)	זו ברם ] זו ברם (+ 2nd sing. suffix) ⚪ <sup>mss</sup>

#### Col. VII (Frg. 4) Ps 15:1–16:1

##### top margin

[יהוה] מי יגור באהלך	מי] ישכן בהר קדשך	1 f.4
[הולך] תמים ופעל צדק	ודב[ר אמת בלבבו]	2
[ע]שה לרעהו רעה	וחר[פה לא נשא על קרבנו]	3
[נבו]ה בעיניו נמאס	ואת [ראי יהוה יכבד]	4
[נשבע] להרע ולא ימר	כספו] לא נתן בנשך <sup>5</sup>	5
[ושחד על נקי] לא [ק]ח	עשה א[לה לא ימוט לעולם]	6

[	]	<i>vacat</i>	[	]	7
[	<i>vacat</i>	מכ]הם לדו]ר	<i>vacat</i>	16:1]	8
[		אמרת ליהוה אדני אתה] <sup>2</sup>	בך	כי חסיתי	(9)
[	<i>vacat</i>			בל עליך	(10)
[		ואדירי כל חפצי במ]	ואדירי	כל חפצי במ]	(11)
[	<i>vacat</i>			אחר מהרו	(12)
[		ובל אשא את שמותם על שפתי]	ובל אשא	את שמותם על שפתי]	(13)
[		אתה תומיך גורלי]	אתה תומיך	גורלי]	(14)
[		אף נחלת שפרה עלי]	אף נחלת	שפרה עלי]	(15)
[		אף לילות יסרוני כליותי]	אף לילות	יסרוני כליותי]	(16)
[		כי מימיני בל אמוש]	כי מימיני	בל אמוש]	(17)
[		אף בשרי ישכן לבטח]	אף בשרי	ישכן לבטח]	(18)
[		לא תתן חסידך לראות שחת]	לא תתן	חסידך לראות שחת]	(19)
[	<i>vacat</i>			ארח חיים	(20)
[		נעמות בימינך נצח]	נעמות	בימינך נצח]	(21)
[	<i>vacat</i>				(22)
[		תפלה לדוד <sup>17:1</sup>	<i>vacat</i>		(23)
[		הקשיבה רנתי		שמעה יהוה צדק	(24)
[		בלא שפתי מרמה]	בלא שפתי	מרמה]	(25)
[		עיניך תחזינה מישרים]	עיניך תחזינה	מישרים]	(26)
[		צרפתני בל תמצא זמתי]	צרפתני	בל תמצא זמתי]	(27)
[		בל יעבר פי <sup>4</sup> לפעלות אדם בדבר שפתיך אני שמרתי]	בל יעבר פי <sup>4</sup>	לפעלות אדם בדבר שפתיך אני שמרתי]	(28)

## NOTES ON READINGS

This is the single fragment discovered by Y. Yadin several years after the others were found by the Bedouin (see BIBLICAL SCROLLS FROM NAHAL HEVER AND 'WADI SEIYAL': INTRODUCTION). The only photograph available is that printed in Yadin, 'Expedition D' (1961) pl. D, which is reproduced here. Only the top margin is preserved for this column, which originally contained Ps 15:1-17:4ab. A single-line interval precedes the

beginning of Psalm 16 at line 7. It appears that Psalm 15 was written without the Davidic superscription found in  $\text{מזמור לדוד}$  ( $\text{מזמור לדוד}$ ) for two reasons: (a) The alignment precludes the heading from being placed before  $\text{מִי יגור באהלך}$  in line 1; and (b) It is unlikely that the superscription occupied the final line of col. VI (a configuration which does occur for Psalm 12 in col. V 28). This is because—as occurs elsewhere in 5/6HevPsalms—Psalm 15 would need to be preceded by a blank line in col. VI 27; there was no room for an additional two lines in that column.

L. 1 (15:1)  $\text{מִן}$ . A trace of *yod* seems visible on the left edge of the leather.

L. 3 (15:3)  $\text{. . . [לא עשה] . . .}$ . 5/6HevPsalms contains two cola for verse 3 where  $\text{מז}$  has three, with no parallel for the first (see VARIANTS).

L. 8 (16:1)  $\text{מכלתם לדוד}$ . The alignment shows the superscription to be indented. If the transcription is correct, this must be the superscription to Psalm 16; the only other title containing these words is the one for Psalm 60 ( $\text{למנצח על שושן עדות מכתם לדוד ללמד}$ ), which is too long for the present format.

## VARIANTS

15:1	(1)	$\text{מז מִן}$ ] $\text{מז ומי}$ $\text{מז}^{\text{mss}}$ $\text{מז}$ Hier
15:1	(1)	$\text{מז באהלך}$ ] $\text{מז באהלך}$ $\text{מז}^{\text{mss}}$ $\text{מז}$
15:3	(3)	$\text{מז}$ (additional colon) $\text{לא רגל על לשנו}$ pr ] $\text{[לא עשה לרעהו רעה}$
15:4	(4)	$\text{מז נמאס}$ ] $\text{מז}^{\text{mss}}$ ; $\text{πουσρηυόμενος}$ $\text{מז}$

## Col. VIII (Frg. 5) Ps 18:6-13a

[ארחות פריץ	תמך אשרי במעגלותיך	בל נמושו פעמי]	(1)
[אני קראתיך	כי תענני אל	הט אונך לי שמע אמרתי]	(2)
[הפלה חסדיך	מושיע חוסים	ממתקוממים בימינך]	(3)
[שמרני כאישון	בת עין	בצל כנפיד תסתירני]	(4)
[מפני רשעים	זו שדוני	איבי בנפש יקיפו עלי]	(5)
[חלבמו סגרו	פימו דברו בגאות]		(6)
[אשריני עתה	סבבוני	עיניהם ישיתו לנטות בארץ]	(7)
[דמינו כאריה	יכסוף לטרוף	וככפיר ישב במסתרים]	(8)
[קומה יהוה	קדמה פניו הכריעהו	פלטה נפשי מרשע חרבך]	(9)
[ממתים ידך	יהוה ממתים	מחלד חלקם בחיים]	(10)
[וצפונך תמלא	בשגם ישבעו בנים	והניחו יתרם לעולליהם]	(11)
[אני בצדק אחזה	פניך	אשבעה בהקיץ תמונתך]	(12)
[	<i>vacat</i>	]	(13)



[18:1] למנצח לעבד יהוה לדוד אשר דבר ליהוה את דברי השירה]	(14)
[הזאת ביום הציל יהוה אותו מכף כל איביו ומיד שאול <sup>2</sup> ויאמר]	(15)
[ארחמך יהוה חזקי <sup>3</sup> יהוה סלעי ומצודתי ומפלטי]	(16)
[אלי צורי אחסה בו מגני וקרן ישעי משגבי]	(17)
[מהלל אקרא יהוה ומן איבי אושע]	(18)
[אפפוני חבלי מות ונחלי בליעל יבעתוני]	(19)
[חבלי שאול סבבוני קדמוני מוקשי מות]	20 f.5
[בצר לי אקרא יהוה ואל אל]הי אושע ישמע מהיכלו קולי]	21
[ושועתי לפניו תבוא באזניו <sup>8</sup> ותגע]ש ותרעש הארץ]	22
[ומוסדי הרים ירגזו ויתג]עשו כי חרה לו]	23
[עלה עשן באפו ואש מפיו]תאכל]	24
[גחלים בערו ממנו <sup>10</sup> ויט שמי]ם וירד]	25
[וערפל תחת רגליו וירכב ע]ל כרוב ויעף]	26
[וידא על כנפי רוח <sup>12</sup> ישת חש]ן ס]ח]ר]ו ס]ב]יבותיו]	27
[סכתו חשכת מים עבי שחקים <sup>13</sup> מנגה נגדו עביו]עב]רו ברד וגחלי אש]	28

## NOTES ON READINGS

The left margin is preserved for this column, which originally contained Ps 17:4c–18:13ab. The configuration of cola for lines 22–28 differs from that of  $\mathfrak{M}$ . Since a very similar form of this Psalm is preserved in 2 Sam 22:2–51, the collation of variant readings below will include that Psalm. This collation shows that the form of Psalm 18 in 5/6HevPsalms corresponds to that found in  $\mathfrak{M}$ , not the form in 2 Samuel 22.

Ll. 16–17 (18:2–3) The twenty-eight-line format of the column in this manuscript requires one less line than is produced by the arrangement found in  $\mathfrak{M}$ . The most likely explanation is that presented here, with verses 2b–3a and 3bc each filling a single line (cf. the three lines containing 2b, 3ab, 3c in  $\mathfrak{M}$ ).

L. 21 (18:7) ואל אל]הי אושע ישמע מהיכלו קולי]. In order to maintain the stichometric format the scribe dispensed with the expected short interval between cola b and c in order to squeeze in the large amount of text for this very long line.

L. 27 (18:12) חש]ן ס]ח]ר]ו ס]ב]יבותיו]. The ink-traces are very difficult to identify, but are compatible with the suggested letters.

L. 28 (18:12b–13ab) The text found in  $\mathfrak{M}$  seems too long for this format, but was most likely cramped, included no interval between the three cola, and extended into the left margin (cf. cols. III 22; IX 9). None of these cola is lacking in the other textual witnesses (but cf. 2 Sam 22:12a).

L. 28 (18:13) עב]רו ברד וגחלי אש]. Several possibilities exist for the ink-traces. The dark stroke that slants downward to the left may be part of *ayin*.

## VARIANTS

- 18:7 (21) ] זז אשוע <sup>mss</sup>ט; אקרא 2 Sam 22:7  
 18:7 (21) ] זז ישמ(ע) <sup>mss</sup>טטט 2 Sam 22:7  
 18:12 (27) ] טזז ס(ת)ו > 2 Sam 22:12

## Col. IX (Frgs. 6 + 7) Ps 18:17-43

- (1) <sup>14</sup>וירעם בשמים יהוה ועליון יתן קלו ברד וגחלי אש]
- (2) <sup>15</sup>וישלח חציו ופיצם וברקים רב ויהמם]
- (3) <sup>16</sup>ויראו אפיקי מים ויגלו מוסדות תבל]
- 4 f.6 [מגערתך יהוה מנשמת רוח אפך <sup>17</sup>ישל'ח מ'מרו'ם יקחני]
- 5 [ימשני ממים רבים <sup>18</sup>יציל'ני מאיבי עז]
- 6 [ומשנאי כי אמצו ממני <sup>19</sup>יקדמוני] ביום אידי]
- 7 [ויהי יהוה למש]ען לי <sup>20</sup>ויציא'ני ל]מ'רחב יחלצני כי חפץ בי]
- 8 <sup>21</sup>יגמלני יהוה כצ]דקי כבר ידי ישיב לי]
- 9 <sup>22</sup>כי שמרתי דרכי יהוה] ולא רשעתי מאלהי <sup>23</sup>כי כל משפטיו לנגד'י]
- 10 [וחקתיו לא אסיר מ]ני <sup>24</sup>וא]הי תמים עמו ואשתמר מעוני]
- 11 <sup>25</sup>וישב יהוה] לי כצדקי כבר ידי לנגד עיניו]
- 12 <sup>26</sup>עם חס]יד תתחסד עם גבר תמים תתם]
- 13 <sup>27</sup>עם נ]בר תתברר ועם עקש תתפתל]
- 14 <sup>28</sup>כי א]תה עם עני תושיע ועיני]ם רמות תשפיל]
- 15 <sup>29</sup>כי א]תה תאיר] נרי י]הוה א]להי יגיה חשז'ני <sup>30</sup>כי]
- 16 בך ארץ גד]וד ובאלהי אדלג שור <sup>31</sup>האל תמים ד]רכו]
- 17 אמרת יהוה צ]רו]פה מגן הוא לכל החסי]ם בו]
- 18 <sup>32</sup>כי מי אלוה] מבלעדי יהוה ומי צור זולת]י א]להי'ני]
- 19 <sup>33</sup>האל המא]זרני חיל ויתן תמים דרכי <sup>34</sup>משוה] רגלי כאילות]
- 20 ועל במותי יעמ'י]דני <sup>35</sup>מלמד ידי ל]מלחמה]
- 21 [ונ]ח]תה קשת נחושה זרועתי <sup>36</sup>ותתן] לי מ]גן ישעד]

[וימינך הסעדני וענותך תרבני <sup>37</sup> תרחיב צעדי תחתי]	(22)
[ולא מעדו קרסלי <sup>38</sup> ארדוף אויבי וא[שי]גם]	23 f.7
[ולא אשו]ב עד כלותם <sup>39</sup> אמחצם ולא יכלו קום]	24
[יפלו תחת ר]גלי <sup>40</sup> ותאזור[ני] חיל למלחמה תכריע קמי תחתי	25
[ואיבי נ]תתה לי ערף <sup>41</sup> ומשנאי אצמיתם]	26
[ישועו וא]ין מושיע <sup>42</sup> על יהודה ולא ענם]	27
[ואשחקם כע]פר על פני רוח <sup>43</sup> כשיט חוצות אריקם]	28

*bottom margin*

#### NOTES ON READINGS

The right, left, and bottom margins are preserved for this column, which originally contained Ps 18:14-43. As was the case in col. VIII, the collation of variant readings below will include the version of this Psalm found in 2 Samuel 22.

L. 5 (8:18) יצילִי. The bottom left tip of the *nun* extends under the *yod*.

L. 8 (8:21) כצִלִי. The *šade* has been completely abraded from the surface of the leather.

L. 18 (8:32) אלהיִנִּי. Following *he* there are three ink strokes which are difficult to identify. The first stroke seems to be part of *yod*. The second and third could both be part of a distorted *nun*, or could each belong to separate letters such as *nun* and *waw*.

L. 19 (8:34) משהִּה. Two ink-traces appear on the edge of the leather; spacing suggests that one belongs to *waw* and the other to *he*.

#### VARIANTS

18:21 (8)	זז כצִלִי קי ] זז כצִדקתי ] זז <sup>mss</sup> 2 Sam 22:21; בצדקי ] זז <sup>mss</sup>
18:21 (8)	זז כבר ] זז כבר ( *וכבר ) זז <sup>mss</sup> ; זז כבוד ] זז <sup>mss</sup> , cf 2 Sam 22:21 זז <sup>L</sup> (δόξαν)
18:23 (10)	זז מִי ] זז ממנה 2 Sam 22:23
18:24 (10)	זז ואֱהִי ] זז ואהיה 2 Sam 22:24
18:25 (11)	זז בצדקי ] זז כצדקי ] זז <sup>mss</sup> 2 Sam 22:25; זז בצדקי ] זז <sup>mss</sup>
18:25 (11)	זז כבודי ] זז כבוד ידי ] זז כבר ידי ] זז <sup>mss</sup> ; זז כבודי ] זז <sup>mss</sup> ; זז כבוד ידי ] זז <sup>mss</sup> ; זז כבוד ידי ] זז <sup>mss</sup>
18:25 (11)	זז עיני ] זז עיני ] זז <sup>mss</sup>
18:26 (12)	זז ועם ] זז ועם ] זז <sup>mss</sup> זז
18:26 (12)	זז גבר ] זז גבור ] זז <sup>mss</sup> 2 Sam 22:26 (var. or orth.?)
18:27 (13)	זז תחבר ] זז תחבר ] זז <sup>mss</sup> 2 Sam 22:27; זז תחבר ] זז <sup>mss</sup>
18:27 (13)	זז תפתל ] זז תפתל ] זז <sup>mss</sup> 2 Sam 22:27
18:28 (14)	זז כי אֱהִי ] זז כי אֱהִי ] זז <sup>mss</sup> 2 Sam 22:28
18:28 (14)	זז ועיניִם רמות ] זז ועיניִם רמות ] זז <sup>mss</sup> 2 Sam 22:28; καὶ ὀφθαλμούς ὑπερηφάνων ( *ועיני רמים ) ] זז <sup>mss</sup>
18:29 (15)	זז האיר ] זז האיר ] זז <sup>mss</sup> > 2 Sam 22:29
18:29 (15)	זז אֱהִי ] זז אֱהִי ] זז <sup>mss</sup> 2 Sam 22:29





[והתפרדו כל [עצמותי ה'ה] לבי כדונג נמס בתוך מעי]	10	f.9
[ <sup>16</sup> יבש כחרש כחי ול]שוני מדבק מלקוחי ולעפר מות ת[שפתני]	11	
[ <sup>17</sup> כי סבבני כלבי]ם עדת מרעים הקיפוני כארו ידיה ורגלי	12	
[ <sup>18</sup> אספר כל עצמ]ותי ה'מה יבישו יראו בי	13	
[ <sup>19</sup> יחלקו בגדי ל]הם ו[ע]ל לב[ו]ש'י יפילו גורל	14	
[ <sup>20</sup> ואתה יהוה אל תר]חם אילותי לעזרתי חושה	15	
[ <sup>21</sup> הצילה מחרב נפשי מיד כ]לב יחידתי	16	
[ <sup>22</sup> הושיעני מפי אריה ומקרני רמים עניתני <sup>23</sup> אספרה שמך לאחי]	(17)	
[בתוך קהל אהלך <sup>24</sup> יראי יהוה הללוהו כל זרע יעקב כבדוהו]	(18)	
[וגורו ממנו כל זרע ישראל <sup>25</sup> כי לא בזה ולא שקץ ענות עני]	(19)	
[ולא הסתיר פניו ממנו ובשועו אליו שמע <sup>26</sup> מאתך תהלתי בקהל רב]	(20)	
[נדרתי אשלם נגד יראיו <sup>27</sup> יאכלו ענוים וישבעו יהללו יהוה דרשיו]	(21)	
[יחי לבבכם לעד <sup>28</sup> יזכרו וישבו אל יהוה כל אפסי ארץ]	(22)	
[וישתחו לפניך כל משפחות גוים <sup>29</sup> כי ליהוה המלוכה]	(23)	
[ומשל בגוים <sup>30</sup> אכלו וישתחו כל דשני ארץ]	(24)	
[לפניו יכרעו כל יורדי עפר ונפשו לא חיה <sup>31</sup> זרע יעבדנו]	(25)	
[יספר לאדני לדור <sup>32</sup> יבאו ויגידו צדקתו לעם נולד כי עשה]	(26)	
[ <i>vacat</i> ]	(27)	
[מזמור לדוד <sup>23:1</sup> יהוה רעי לא אחסר]	(28)	

## NOTES ON READINGS

The top, right, and left margins are preserved for this column, which originally contained Ps 22:4–23:1. The twenty-eight-line format requires that several of the missing lines must have contained more cola than the two generally found in III, since this column is followed by Ps 23:2 in col. XII. As occurs elsewhere in this manuscript, it may be assumed that Psalm 23 was preceded by a blank line. If the text of the reconstructed lines was close to that of III, which is mostly so for 5/6HevPsalms, many of these lines must have contained very small intervals, or none at all, between cola (see introductory notes, above). Although the photograph of frg. 9 in PAM 42.190 of frg. 9 (containing Ps 22:15-21) is very faded, most of the letters are clearly identifiable under magnification.



L. 1 (22:4) ואזה. A trace from the top left of *alep* seems to be on the right edge of the leather.

L. 12 (22:17) כארו. With *waw* and *yod* clearly distinguishable in this hand (see introductory notes, above), this important variant reading is assured.

L. 16 (22:21) כלבֿ יִהְיֶה־יִי. The ink-traces on the edge of the leather could be from various letters; the stichometric arrangement, with no variants attested elsewhere, suggests this reading. Because line 16 contained comparatively little text, the interval between cola a and b must have been unusually large.

## VARIANTS

- 22:4 (1) זז תהלות ] זז תהלת <sup>mss</sup> ⚪ (var. or orth.?)  
 22:17 (12) זז <sup>mss, edd</sup> ⚪ (ωρξαν)⚪ ] זז כארי ; כרו ; זז <sup>mss, edd</sup>

## Col. XII (Frgs. 10 + 11 + 12) Ps 23:2-6; 24:1-2; 25:4-6

*top margin*

- |   |        |
|---|--------|
| בנאות דשא ירביצני על מי מנחות ינהלני <sup>3</sup> נפשי ישובב]     | 1 f.10 |
| ינחני במעגלי צדק] למען שמו]                                       | 2      |
| גם כי אלך בגיא צלמות לא אירא רע כי אתה עמדי]                      | 3      |
| שבטך ומשענתך הן]מה ינחמני <sup>5</sup> תערך לפני שלחן נגד צררי]   | 4      |
| דשנת בשר]מן ראשי כוסי רויה]                                       | 5      |
| א]ן] טוב וחסד ירדפוני כל ימי חי]                                  | 6 f.11 |
| ושבתי] בבית יהוה לארך ימים]                                       | 7      |
| [ <i>vacat</i> ]  | 8      |
| [ <i>vacat</i> לדוד מזמור <sup>24:1</sup> ]                       | 9      |
| ליהוה] הארץ ומלואה תבל וישבי בה]                                  | 10     |
| כי] הוא על ימים יסדה ועל נהרות יכוננה]                            | 11     |
| [ <sup>3</sup> מי יעלה בהר יהוה ומי יקום במקום קדשו]              | (12)   |
| [ <sup>4</sup> נקי כפים ובר לבב אשר לא נשא לשוא נפשו]             | (13)   |
| [ ולא נשבע למרמה <sup>5</sup> ישא ברכה מאת יהוה וצדקה מאלהי ישעו] | (14)   |
| [ <sup>6</sup> זה דור דרשיו מבקשי פניך יעקב סלה]                  | (15)   |
| [ <sup>7</sup> שאו שערים ראשיכם והנשאו פתחי עולם]                 | (16)   |
| [ ויבוא מלך הכבוד <sup>8</sup> מי זה מלך הכבוד יהוה עזות וגבור]   | (17)   |

- [ יהוה גבור מלחמה<sup>9</sup> שאו שערים ראשיכם ושאו פתחי עולם ] (18)
- [ ויבא מלך הכבוד<sup>10</sup> מי הוא זה מלך הכבוד ] (19)
- [ יהוה צבאות הוא מלך הכבוד סלה ] (20)
- [ *vacat* ] (21)
- [ *vacat* לדוד<sup>25:1</sup> ] (22)
- [ אליך יהוה נפשי אשא<sup>2</sup> אלהי בכ בשחתי אל אבושה ] (23)
- [ אל יעלצו איבי לי<sup>3</sup> גם כל קויך לא יבשו יבשו הבוגדים ריקם ] (24)
- [<sup>4</sup>דר]כי יהוה הודיעני ארחותיך למדני<sup>5</sup> הדריכני באמתך ולמדני] 25 f.12
- [כי]אתה אלהי ישעי אותך קייתי כל היום] 26
- [זכ]ר רחמיך יהוה וחסדיך כי מעולם המה] 27
- [חטאו]ת נעורי ופשעי אל תזכר כחסרך זכר לי אתה] 28

## NOTES ON READINGS

The top and right margins are preserved for this column, which originally contained Ps 23:2 to approximately 25:7b. As occurs elsewhere in this manuscript, the two new Psalms are each preceded by a blank line at lines 8 (partially preserved) and 21 (reconstructed).

L. 9 (24:1) [לדוד מזמור]. The superscription was clearly indented, as it is preceded by a blank piece of leather measuring approximately 0.75 cm.

L. 25 (25:4-5) [דר]כי יהוה הודיעני ארחותיך למדני . . . הדריכני באמתך ולמדני]. This line seems unusually long, but compare cols. III 22; IV 15, 18; VI 24; IX 19, 25.

L. 28 (25:7) [חטאו]ת. There is a curved, horizontal trace of ink on the bottom edge of the leather. Since its position is too high for a regular line in the manuscript, the ink could be part of a supralinear letter; however, no others apparently occur in the preserved portions of 5/6HevPsalms. Alternatively, the scribe may have written the two lines closer together than usual (cf. col. IX 27-28). For the letter itself, the stichometric format requires the top of *taw*, although the characteristic top tip of the left leg seems to be missing. No other letter suggests itself, except perhaps the top of *qop*.

[Cols. XIII–XIV Ps 25:7c–28:9 No longer extant]

Col. XV (Frg. 13 i) Ps 29:1-2; 30:3

- (1) הושיעה את עמך וברך את נחלתך ורעם ונשאם עד העולם]
- (2) [ *vacat* ]
- (3) [ *vacat* מזמור לד<sup>29:1</sup> ]
- (4) f.13 i] הבו ליהוה בני אלים הבו ליהוה כבוד ו]עז
- (5) <sup>2</sup>הבו ליהוה כבוד שמו השתחוו ליהוה בהדרת [קדש
- (6) <sup>3</sup>קול יהוה על המים אל הכבוד הרעים]
- (7) יהוה על מים רבים <sup>4</sup>קול יהוה בכח קול יהוה בהדר]
- (8) <sup>5</sup>קול יהוה שבר ארזים וישבר יהוה את ארזי הלבנון]
- (9) <sup>6</sup>וירקידם כמו עגל לבנון ושריץ כמו בן ראמים]
- (10) <sup>7</sup>קול יהוה חצב להבות אש [ *vacat* ]
- (11) <sup>8</sup>קול יהוה יחיל מדבר יחיל יהוה מדבר קדש]
- (12) <sup>9</sup>קול יהוה יחולל אילות ויחשף יערות]
- (13) <sup>10</sup>ובהיכלו כלו אמר כבוד יהוה למבול ישב]
- (14) <sup>11</sup>וישב יהוה מלך לעולם יהוה עז לעמו יתן]
- (15) <sup>12</sup>יהוה יברך את עמו בשלום]
- (16) [ *vacat* ]
- (17) <sup>13</sup>מזמור שיר חנכת הבית לדוד [ *vacat* ]
- (18) <sup>14</sup>ארוממך יהוה כי דליתני [ *vacat* ]
- (19) <sup>15</sup>ולא שמחת איבי לי <sup>3</sup>יהוה אלהי שועתי אליך ותרפאנ<sup>16</sup>]
- (20) <sup>16</sup>יהוה העלית מן שאול נפשי חיתני מיורדי בור]
- (21) <sup>17</sup>זמרו ליהוה חסידיו והודו לזכר קדשו]
- (22) <sup>18</sup>כי רגע באפו חיים ברצונו בערב ילין בכי ולבקר רנה]
- (23) <sup>19</sup>ואני אמרתי בשלוי בל אמוט לעולם]
- (24) <sup>20</sup>יהוה ברצונך העמדתה להררי עז הסתרת פניך הייתי נבהל]

- [<sup>9</sup>אליך יהוה אקרא ואל אדני אתחנן] (25)
- [<sup>10</sup>מה בצע בדמי ברדתי אל שחת היודך עפר היגיד אמתך] (26)
- [<sup>11</sup>שמע יהוה וחנני יהוה היה עזר לי] (27)
- [<sup>12</sup>הפכת מספדי למחול לי פתחת שקי ותאזרני שמחה] (28)

## NOTES ON READINGS

The left margin is preserved for this column, with only the ends of three long inscribed lines (which extend far into the margin) surviving on frg. 13 i. Since this column is physically joined with the next one, the amount of text between the second inscribed line and the first inscribed line in col. XVI (beginning with בְּךָ, Ps 31:2) can be determined. The amount of preserved text on frg. 13 ii shows that the text in frgs. 13 i and ii began near the top of their respective columns. The following transcription of the preserved text commences with line 4, although it could equally have begun in lines 1, 2, 3, 5, or 6, depending on the arrangement of cola in the missing cols. XIII–XIV. (The precise contents of this column would also determine those of col. XVI). The column as presented here originally contained Ps 28:9–30:12.

L. 4 (29:1) [הבו ליהוה בני אלים הבו ליהוה כבוד ו]עו. If the superscription was on a separate line (3), as elsewhere in this manuscript, a large interval must have separated the two cola for ו]עו to extend so far.

L. 5 (29:2) [קדש]. There is a small trace of ink, apparently from *qop*, on the right edge of the leather.

L. 19 (30:3) [ותרפאנ]. The top left part of *yod*, protruding far into the margin, is clearly visible in the photograph.

## Col. XVI (Frg. 13 ii) Ps 31:3-22

- [<sup>13</sup>למען יזמרך כבוד ולא ידם יהוה אלהי לעולם אודך] (1)
- [ *vacat* ] (2)
- [ *vacat* <sup>31:1</sup>למנצח מזמור לדוד ] (3)
- <sup>2</sup>בְּךָ יהוה חסיתי אל אבושה לעולם בצדקתך פלטני] 4 f.13 ii
- <sup>3</sup>הִטְּהָ אֱלֹהֵי אֲזַנְךָ מֵהֲרָה הֲצִילֵנִי הִיָּה לִי לְצֹר מֵעַז לְבַיִת מִצְוֹדוֹת לְהוֹשִׁיעֵנִי] 5
- <sup>4</sup>כִּי סָלַעִי וּמִצְוֹדֹתַי אֶתָּה וּלְמַעַן שִׁמְךָ תִּנְחַנֵּי וְתִנְהַלְנֵי] 6
- <sup>5</sup>תּוֹצִיאֵנִי מִרֶשֶׁת זֶה שִׁמְנוֹ לִי כִּי אֶתָּה מֵעַזִּי <sup>6</sup>בִּידֶךָ אֶפְקִיד רוּחִי] 7
- פְּדִית אֹתִי יְהוָה אֵל אֱמֶת ] <sup>7</sup>שְׁנֵאתִי הַשְּׁמֵרִים הַבְּלִי שׁוֹא] 8
- וְאֵנִי אֵל יְהוָה] בְּטַחְתִּי <sup>8</sup>אֶגִּילָה וְאֶשְׂמַחָה בַּחֲסֶדְךָ] 9

אשר ראית את עניי	[ידעת בצרות נפשי]	10
°ולא הסגרתני ביד א[ויב	העמדת במרחב רגלי]	11
10חנני יהוה כי צר לי	[עששה בכעס עיני]	12
נפשי ובשני	11כי כלו ביגון חיי ושנ[תי באנחה]	13
כשל בעוני כחי ועצמי עששו	12מכל צר[רי הייתי חרפה]	14
ולשכני מ[א]ד ופחד למידעי]	[ראי בחוץ נדדו ממני]	15
13נשכחתי כמת מלב	[הייתי ככלי אבד 14כי שמעתי]	16
דב[ת רבים מגור מ]סביב	בהוסדם יחד עלי]	17
לקחת נפשי זממ[ו]	15ואני עליך בשחתי יהוה]	18
אמרתי אלהי אתה	16בידרך עתתי הצילני]	19
מיד אויבי ומרדפי	17[ה]א[ירה פניך על עבדך]	20
[ה]שיעני בחסרך	18[יהוה אל אבושה כי קראתיך]	21
[יבשו]רשעים ידמו לשאו[ל]	19תאלמנה שפתי שקר]	22
[הדברות] על צדיק עתק	[בגאווה ובז]	23
20[מה רב שובך אש]ר צפנת ליראיך פע[לת לחסים בך נגד בני אדם]		24
21[חסתירם בסתר פ]ניך מרכס[י איש תצ]פנם בסכה מריב לשנות]		25
22[ברוך יהוה כי הפל]יא חס[רו]	[לי בעיר מצור]	26
23[ואני אמרתי בחפזי	נגרזתי מנגד עיניך אכן שמעת]	(27)
[קול תחנוני בשועי אליך	24אהבו את יהוה כל חסידיו]	(28)

## NOTES ON READINGS

The right margin is preserved for this column, which originally contained Ps 30:13–31:24a (but see the general note for col. XV above).

L. 6 (31:4) ומצוהתי. The bottom tip of *šade* touches the bottom of *waw*.

Ll. 16–17 (31:14) כי שמעתי | דב[ת רבים]. The arrangement of this colon differs from that found in  $\mathfrak{M}^L$  (כי שמעתי | דבת רבים), most likely due to considerations of space.

L. 24 (31:20) [מה רב שובך]. Spacing shows that 5/6HevPsalms here had the shorter text with  $\mathfrak{M}$ , without the addition of יהוה as in  $\mathfrak{M}^{ms}$ .

L. 26 (31:22) הפל[יא חס]רו. The positions of the extant letters show that the expected intervals were present after יהוה and חסרו.



## VARIANTS

- 31:6 (8) זז פדיתה ] פדית  
 31:10 (13) זז<sup>ms</sup> > ] זז נפשי ובסני

*Unidentified Fragment*

Frg. 14

]◦ שׁ◦[

1

*bottom margin*

If this tiny piece is from the bottom of a column that has been transcribed, it is possible that it is from Ps 17:7c in col. VI 28: [יגל יעקב־ב־יְשׁוּחַ יִשְׂרָאֵל]. However, the *bet* seems too close to the *yod* in the next word, and there is too much space between the *sin* and *mem*. Another possibility is that this text is from the bottom of one of the five missing columns: I, II, X, XIII, XIV or from the bottom of a later column.

## 2. 8HevPrayer

(PLATE XXVIII)

Previous discussion: Y Aharoni, 'Expedition B—The Cave of Horror', *IEJ* 12 (1962) 196–7 and pl. 30F.

THIS DOCUMENT was discovered in the 'Cave of Horror' in Naḥal Hever, during the excavation of an undisturbed grave (see Aharoni, 'Expedition B', 196–7). Aharoni's report does not provide details of its precise relationship to the grave, but he does state that it apparently 'was placed next to the dead'. At the time of its discovery, it consisted of three fragments, which have now broken into four. Aharoni's preliminary report included a transcription of significant words and a photograph. Since the negative of this photograph has not been located, the published photograph has been taken as evidence of the document's state at the time of discovery. This is mainly of significance for establishing that two of the fragments now surviving were originally joined, but is also important for showing letters at the edges of the fragments. However, it would appear that in this photograph, frg. 3 was printed upside down.

The maximal dimensions of the fragments are: frg. 1: height 3 cm, width 2.3 cm; frg. 2: height (reconstructed) 5.3 cm, width 3.4 cm; frg. 3: height 1.3 cm, width 0.6 cm. The order of the fragments is uncertain. Frg. 1 has been so named because it may preserve an upper margin.

The text is extremely fragmentary, and accordingly its interpretation is uncertain. Aharoni suggested reconstructing the letters ]שמח במ[ found in frg. 2 6 as ]שמח במ[ערה and translating 'who died in the cave', reading the first word as *šemmēt*. However, since the entire prayer appears to be a blessing to God, a more convincing interpretation would appear to be 'you set', reading *śamtā*. The text seems to thank God for what he has done for his people (see frg. 2 7). In the transcription below, we have erred on the side of caution, and avoided speculative reconstructions.

The language of the text would seem to be Hebrew. Of significance is the plural participle מברכין (frg. 1 2) with a final *nun*. While such forms are attested already in the Bible, they are far more common in Mishnaic Hebrew, particularly in the participles.<sup>1</sup>

If our interpretation of frg. 2 6 is correct, then, contra Aharoni, we do not have an example of the relative pronoun *še-*.

Mus. Inv. 223, 225  
IAA 190395

<sup>1</sup> See most recently S. Naeh, ל"ל, שתי סוגיות נדושות בלשון חז"ל in M. Bar-Asher, D. Rosenthal (eds.), *Mehqerei Talmud—Talmudic Studies Dedicated to the Memory of Professor Eliezer Shimshon Rosenthal* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1993) 384–8, and literature cited there.

## Frg. 1

*top margin*

]מברכין [	1
]ידי הושי]ענו	2
]בהם תורן [	3
]שׁ [	4

## TRANSLATION

1. ]are blessing/bless [
2. ] hand(?). Sa[ve us
3. ]to them [
4. ] [

## NOTES ON READINGS AND COMMENTS

L. 1 ]מברכין. For the participle ending with the *mun* (as in Mishnaic Hebrew), see above and note 1. It would seem likely that the subject is the people of Israel or a group from amongst them, and that the object is God.

L. 2 ]ידי הושי]ענו. 'Not all the strokes of the *šin* are joined, which gives it the appearance of two letters. Compare, however, XHev/Se 6 2 1. The reconstruction suggested here would best be read as an imperative rather than perfect, as the prayer appears to be addressed in the 2nd person.

L. 3 ]בהם תורן [. The final letter is most likely a *reš* or *dalet*. We could reconstruct תורן, but any reading is speculative.

## Frg. 2

] [	1
]מים [	2
]א [	3
]גמל [ ] [	4
]ת X הפי [	5
]שמת במ [	6
]על עמך יש]ראל	7
]יל [ ]אלי [	8
] [	9

## TRANSLATION

1. ] [
2. water/[the hea]vens
3. ] [
4. ] bestowed [
5. ] [
6. ]you have placed in [
7. ]upon your people, Is[rael
8. ]to me[
9. ] [

## NOTES ON READINGS AND COMMENTS

L. 2 ]מים[. The word is probably to be reconstructed שמים[.

L. 4 ]גמל[. The context is so uncertain that it is not clear whether the traces of a letter preceding the root גמל are a prefix and those following a suffix, or if they are separate words. גמל may be used of God's bestowing goodness (see especially Psalms, *passim*).

L. 5 The 'X' sign in the *vacat* in the middle of the line is unprecedented in the known texts from the Judaean Desert, with the possible exception of 4QCatena A (4Q177) 29 2. (E. Tov).

L. 6 ]שמה במ[. As noted in the introduction, Aharoni suggested reconstructing שמה במ[ערה], and translating 'who died in the cave'. According to this Catena reading, the text would then relate to the person in whose grave it was found. However, the remainder of the text is not characteristic of a burial inscription, and this reconstruction appears unlikely. It seems that a simpler reading is provided by regarding the first word as a *Qal* 2nd sing. perfect from the root *šym*, 'place, set'. We would thus translate 'you placed in . . . '.

L. 7 ]על עמך ישראל[. The reconstruction seems almost certain in the light of the many occurrences of על עמך ישראל in the Bible. The expression is particularly common in petitions to God, e.g. Deut 21:8; 1 Kgs 8:36. Compare similar expressions in rabbinic benedictions *m. Ber* 4.4, *m. Yoma* 6.2, etc.

## Frg. 3

]עו[	1
]ו[	2

## TRANSLATION

1. ]until[

## NOTES ON READINGS AND COMMENTS

L. 2 ]עו[. The final letter may also be read as a *kap*. Although the first letter is very flat, and appears to be lying on the ceiling line rather than hanging from it, as is common in the scripts of this period, it appears that it is to be read as *ayin*.





#### 4. 8Hev papUnidentified Text gr

(PLATE XXVIII)

Previous discussion: B. Lifshitz, 'The Greek Documents from the Cave of Horror', *IEJ* 12 (1962) 201–7.

THREE papyrus fragments were found in the Cave of Horror in Nahal Hever. Only the largest of the fragments, measuring 6 x 3.5 cm, is transcribed below. It contains twelve lines of text; no margins have been preserved. Coins and objects, safely dated to the Bar Kokhba revolt, make it very likely that the document belonged to one of the people whose skeletons were found there.<sup>1</sup> They must have met their deaths in the cave during the revolt. Thus the archaeological context dates the document to the period before or during the Bar Kokhba revolt. Close to the papyrus were found fragments of a first century BCE copy of a Greek translation of the Minor Prophets (8HevXII gr).<sup>2</sup> This translation is a 'Jewish revision of the LXX' prepared by Jews who wanted to replace the LXX. It comes as no surprise to find it used by those who participated in Bar Kokhba's religious and national revolt.<sup>3</sup>

Mus. Inv. 221

IAA 508024

- 1 ] κατὰ[
- 2 ].ου αλ.[
- 3 ]ψανα[
- 4 ].μι.. [
- 5 ]... αλλα η [
- 6 ]υ[..].υ εμ.ρα[
- 7 ]υξ..κυληιαυ[

<sup>1</sup> See Y. Aharoni, 'Expedition B—The Cave of Horror', *IEJ* 12 (1962) 189–99, esp. 197–8.

<sup>2</sup> The text has been published by E. Tov, *The Greek Minor Prophets Scroll from Nahal Hever (8HevXIIgr)* (DJJD VIII; Oxford, 1990).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. E. Tov, 'Greek Texts' (in press).

- 8 ]c.7 letters λυ.[  
9 ] .....  
10 ].α.[...]ει υπ..[  
11 ]c.4 letters λα διο.[  
12 ].η.ζαυ..[

## 2. XHev/SeNumbers<sup>b</sup>

(PLATE XXIX)

Previous discussion: P. W. Flint and A. E. Alvarez, 'Two Biblical Scrolls from Nahal Hever (XHev/SeNum<sup>b</sup> and XHev/SeDeut), Once Claimed to be from "Wadi Seiyal"', *RevQ* 18/72 (1999) 537–40 + pl. 3; J. C. Greenfield, 'The Texts from Nahal Hever (Wadi Seiyal)', in *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid. 18–21 March 1991*, ed. by J. Trebolle Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner (STDJ 11.2; Leiden: E. J. Brill; Madrid: Universidad Complutense, 1992) 661–5, esp. 661–3.

THIS large fragment preserves portions of Num 27:2-13 and 28:11-12 in two adjoining columns which originally contained text from approximately Num 26:58–28:12. Besides the five Numbers scrolls found at Qumran, XHev/SeNum<sup>b</sup> is one of three manuscripts from other locations to preserve text from this book (the others being 5/6HevNum<sup>a</sup> and MurNum). The only other scroll from the Judaean Desert that contains text from Numbers 27 and 28 is 4QNum<sup>b</sup>, but the only overlapping text with XHev/Se 2 is Num 27:2-5, 7-8, 10.

### *Physical Description*

The leather is moderately thick and was originally light brown, but the upper section has since darkened and the bottom has whitened. The surface is abraded in many places (e.g. col. I 27–30, 38–42). Portions have been eaten away by worms and several small worm-holes are clearly visible. The leather appears to have been cut into a distinctive shape with the top possibly forming some sort of handle. A clear horizontal cut extends from the left edge (at col. I 38) into וְרִאֲשֵׁיתָהּ (col. I 43), which is approximately 2.2 cm from the right edge. Another horizontal cut has eliminated some of the bottom margin of col. II.

The writing surface (*recto*) was poorly prepared; the *verso* is fairly rough. Above the large hole in the middle is a blemish (preceding שָׁרַף in col. I 40), which was possibly present before the scribe began writing. The fragment measures 23.4 cm vertically and 15 cm horizontally. There is no evidence of stitching.

Traces of a right vertical ruling are evident on PAM 42.187 at col. I 37–41. The right and bottom margins are preserved for both columns, and the left margin for col. I. The bottom margin is exceptionally large and not uniform in height, measuring 7.2–7.5 cm, and the irregular intercolumnar space measures between 1.4 cm and 2.5 cm where preserved. Horizontal rulings are clearly visible (e.g. col. I 32, 33, 34). The distance between successive lines is typically 7 mm, but is sometimes 6 mm (e.g. col. I 28–29, 38–39) or 8 mm (e.g. col. I 31).

On the basis of these measurements, and assuming a top margin of *c.* 2 cm and 44 lines per column, the two columns can be reconstructed to a height of *c.* 39.5 cm. The number of letter-spaces averages 30.8 for the twenty-six full lines (excluding the blank lines: col. I 29 and 41 with its interval), and ranges from 27 (col. I 39) to 35 letter-spaces (col. I 32, 34).

### *Palaeography*

The script is a formal bookhand that was previously described as ‘Herodian, . . . early 1st century’ (A. Yardeni, in Greenfield, ‘Texts from Nahal Hever’, 663), but is more likely late Herodian (c.50–68 CE), with affinities to 4QDeut<sup>j</sup>, 4QPs<sup>b</sup>, 5/6HevNum<sup>a</sup>, XHev/SeDeut, and 5/6Hev/SePs.<sup>1</sup> In this hand several letters are distinguished by *keraii* or are thickened at the top (e.g. *bet*, final *kap*, *lamed*, final *nun*, *reš*). It has several specifically Herodian characteristics: (i) <sup>2</sup>*Alep* is heavy-lined and squat, with the oblique axis and left leg panned as an inverted ‘V’. (ii) The baseline of *bet* is drawn from left to right, sometimes breaking through the right downstroke (cf. **הדבר** col. I 33; **לבני** col. I 43). (iii) *Waw* and *yod* are usually distinguishable, with the latter usually noticeably longer (cf. **לו אחים** col. I 36; **אבני** col. I 37). (iv) The head of final *kap* loops into the downstroke at the right shoulder, producing a raised juncture which combines with the *keraii* on the left tip to give the head a concave appearance. (v) For *lamed*, the former hook at the top of the vertical stroke in earlier scripts has now become a *keraii*. (vi) The left diagonal of *mem* is drawn upwards, and the former tick beginning the letter is now panned last as a short vertical stroke drawn down into the oblique (cf. **במדבר** col. I 23; **משפחתו** col. I 26; **לאמר** col. I 33; **עמיד** col. I 44). (vii) The tendency for <sup>3</sup>*ayin* to rotate clockwise has become fully developed (cf. **על** col. I 24; **עמיד** col. I 44).

### *Orthography and Morphology*

The orthography of XHev/SeNum<sup>b</sup> is sparing, without *waw* or *yod* as vowel letters. Shorter morphological forms are attested, e.g. **ך**- rather than **כה**- (**עמיד** col. I 44); **ה**- rather than **הה**- (**והעברת** col. I 32, **ונאספת** col. I 44). The scribe sometimes left little or no space between words, e.g. **ו[אל בני]** and **ישראל הדבר** (col. I 33); **אל עמיד** (col. I 44). The surviving text contains no errors, corrections, or insertions.

### *Textual Character*

For the preserved verses, XHev/SeNum<sup>b</sup> represents the two intervals found in **מ** with a blank line following 27:5 (*setuma* **מ**, interval 4QNum<sup>b</sup>; see NOTES ON READINGS) and with an interval following 27:11 (*setuma* **מ**). It is possible, but cannot be proved, that the intervals occurring in **מ** for the missing intervening text (27:13b–28:11a) were also present in this manuscript following 27:14 (*petuḥa* **מ**), 27:23 (*petuḥa* **מ**), 28:2 (interval **מ**), 28:8 (*petuḥa* **מ**), and 28:10 (*setuma* **מ**).

XHev/Se 2 contains no variant readings against other Judean scrolls or **מ**, but sides with **מ** against **מ** 4QNum<sup>b</sup> once, and with **מ** against **מ** five times (see VARIANTS). It preserves one orthographic variant (**לא**) against 4QNum<sup>b</sup> (**לוא**) at 27:3. The absence of both textual and orthographic variants against **מ** shows that this scroll preserves a text of Numbers very much like that found in the received text.

Mus. Inv. 534 (tab number on plate: Se I; see BIBLICAL SCROLLS FROM NAHAL HEVER AND ‘WADI SEIYAL’: INTRODUCTION)  
PAM 42.187

<sup>1</sup> F. M. Cross, ‘Palaeography and the Dead Sea Scrolls’, *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment*, ed. by P. W. Flint and J. C. VanderKam (2 vols.; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1998–99) 1.379–402 + pls. 9–14, esp. pl. 10 lines 7–9.



## Col. I Num 27:2-13

[ <sup>2</sup> וּחַעֲמַדְנָה לִפְנֵי מֹשֶׁה וּלְפָנַי אֲלַעְזֹר הַכֹּהֵן]	21
[וּלְפָנַי הַנְּשִׂאִים וְכָל הָעֵדָה פְּתוּם־ אֵהֵל מוֹעֵד]	22
[לֵאמֹר <sup>3</sup> אֲבִינוּ מִתְּבַמְדָּבֵר וְהוּא לֹא הִיא]	23
[בְּתוֹךְ הָעֵדָה הַנּוֹעֵדִים עַל יְהוָה בְּעֵדֶת קֶרֶח]	24
[כִּי בַחֲטָאוֹ מִתְּוִבְנִים לֹא הָיוּ לוֹ לְמַה]	25
[יִגְרַע שֵׁם אֲבִינוּ מִתּוֹךְ מִשְׁפַּחְתּוֹ כִּי אֵין]	26
[לוֹ בֶן תְּנֶה לָנוּ אַחֲזָה בְּתוֹךְ אַח־ אֲבִינוּ]	27
[ <sup>5</sup> וַיִּקְרַב מֹשֶׁה אֶת מִשְׁפָּטָן לְפָנַי יְהוָה]	28
<i>vac[at]</i>	29
[ <sup>6</sup> וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֵל מִשְׁהוֹן לֵאמֹר <sup>7</sup> כֵּן בְּנוֹת]	30
[צִלְפַּחַד דְּבַרְתָּ נָתַן תְּתִן לָהֶם אַחֲזָה נַחֲלָה]	31
[בְּתוֹךְ אַחֵי אֲבִיהֶם וְהֵעֲבַרְתָּ אֶת נַחֲלָתָם אֲבִיהֶן]	32
[לֵהֵן <sup>8</sup> וְאֵל בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל תְּדַבֵּר לֵאמֹר אִישׁ]	33
[כִּי יִוָּתֵר וּבֶן אֵין לוֹ וְהֵעֲבַרְתָּ אֶת נַחֲלָתוֹ]	34
[לְבֵיתוֹ <sup>9</sup> וְאִם אֵין לוֹ בֵּת וְנָתַתְּ אֹתוֹ נַחֲלָתוֹ]	35
[לְאֶחָיו <sup>10</sup> וְאִם אֵין לוֹ אַחִים וְנָתַתְּ אֹתוֹ]	36
[נַחֲלָתוֹ לְאֶחָיו אֲבִיו <sup>11</sup> וְאִם אֵין אֶחָיו]	37
[לְאֶבְיָיו וְנָתַתְּ אֹתוֹ נַחֲלָתוֹ לְשֵׁם רִשׁוֹ הַקָּרֵב]	38
[אֵלָיו מִמִּשְׁפַּחְתּוֹ וְיִרְשׁוּ אֹתוֹ הַיְהוּדִים]	39
[לְבָנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל לְחֻקַּת מִשְׁפָּט כֹּאֲשֶׁר צִוִּיתִי]	40
<i>vac[at]</i> יְהוָה אֶת מֹשֶׁה	41
[ <sup>12</sup> וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֵל מֹשֶׁה עֲלֵה אֶל הָרֹם הַעֲבִירִים]	42
[הַזֶּה וְרָאֵה אֶת אֶרֶץ אֲשֶׁר נָתַתִּי לְבְנֵי]	43
[יִשְׂרָאֵל <sup>13</sup> וְרָאִיתָהּ אֶתְּהָ וְנֹאסַפְתָּ אֶל עַמִּיךְ]	44

*bottom margin*



## NOTES ON READINGS

The left and bottom margins are preserved for this column, which originally contained Num *c.*26:58–27:13a.

L. 21 (27:2) אַלְעוֹר. The remaining ink trace looks like part of a tall letter, but is in fact the extreme right top keraia of <sup>ʿ</sup>alep. The clear leather beneath was originally inscribed and is now abraded (cf. פֶּתִי in the line below).

L. 25 (27:3) [מת ובנ]ים. Spacing shows that this scroll contained the shorter reading with מַט, not the longer reading found in מ (see VARIANTS).

L. 27 (27:4) [אחזה] בתוך. Spacing does not allow the longer text found in מ (see VARIANTS).

L. 27 (27:4) אַחִי אֲבִינִי. A tiny speck of ink is visible to the left of *het*, followed by a short space and part of the right top of <sup>ʿ</sup>alep.

L. 28 (27:5) לַפְּנֵי. The spot of ink below <sup>ʿ</sup>alep in אַחִי (line 27) is most likely the top of *lamed*, but the dark spot to the left of [מ]שִׁפְטִין is a hole.

Ll. 28–29 (27:5<sup>fin</sup>) To mark the interval following verse 5 (*setuma* מ) the scribe left a blank line, since the verse closed near the end of line 28.

L. 31 (27:7) [דבר]הָ נָתַן. The bottom left tip of *taw* is visible on the right edge of the leather, followed by the medial *nun* whose bottom horizontal stroke is abraded.

L. 31 (27:7) תְּהִי לָהֶם. The second *taw* is distorted and split so that the bottom left *keraia* appears below the fissure in the leather. The ink below and to the left of this foot seems to be all that remains of the final *nun* (cf. נָתַן, the preceding word). A short space follows, and then the bottom descender of *lamed*.

L. 33 (27:8) וְיִשְׂרָאֵל תְּדַבֵּר and וְיִשְׂרָאֵל בְּנֵי. These two pairs of words are written with hardly any dividing spaces (cf. אֵל עִמֶּיךָ col. I 44).

L. 34 (27:8) כִּי יִסְוֶה. Spacing suggests that the ink strokes are from the *yod* and *mem* of יִסְוֶה (= מַט), although the second does not correspond well with *mem* elsewhere in this hand.

L. 36 (27:10) אֵין. The bottom of the final *nun* has flaked off from the leather.

L. 37 (27:11) וְאֵם אֵין אֲחִיָּם. The second and third words are very difficult to identify and are supplied here by comparison to מַט. For אֵין the extreme left tip of <sup>ʿ</sup>alep is visible followed by a broken *yod* (for this longer *yod* cf. בְּנֵי in col. I 33), and then by the top of final *nun*. Another space is followed by אֲחִיָּם with the top right *keraia* of <sup>ʿ</sup>alep, the left descender of *het*, part of *yod*, and the two vertical descenders of final *mem* (the bottom horizontal bar has flaked away).

L. 38 (27:11) [א]תְּנִינָה לְשִׁבְעִי. Small traces of four letters remain. The transcribed text is on the basis of spacing and comparison with מַט.

L. 39 (27:11) [אֵלֵינוּ מִמְּשַׁחַת] וְיִרְשָׁהּ [הָ וְהִיחֶה]. The distance between the tops of lines 38 and 40, 1.2 cm, shows this line to be unusually cramped.

L. 40 (27:11) לְבָנַי. For the thick heads of *nun* and *yod*, cf. בְּנֵי in col. I 33.

L. 41 (27:11<sup>fin</sup>) אַחַח מִשֶּׁה. This is now abraded from the leather. It was followed by an interval (*setuma* מ).

L. 42 (27:12) אֵל. The bottom parts of two letters are clearly visible above the end of אַחַח in the next line.

L. 42 (27:12) אֵל מִשֶּׁה עֲלֶיהָ. Spacing does not allow the longer text found in מַט<sup>ms</sup> (see VARIANTS).

L. 42 (27:12) הָרִי. The extreme left tip of *reš* is visible in the photograph.

L. 43 (27:12) הָרִי [וְ]הָרִי. Except for the final *he* the ink-traces are very difficult to identify due to abrasion and deterioration of the leather. For the first letter a horizontal line remains, suggesting *he* or *het*.

L. 44 (27:13) [וְ]רִאִיָּהּ. The left tip of *reš* touches the right vertical bar of <sup>ʿ</sup>alep, much of the right side of *taw* remains, and part of *he* is visible just above a hole in the leather.

L. 44 (27:13) אֵל עִמֶּיךָ. These two words are written without a dividing space (cf. וְיִשְׂרָאֵל בְּנֵי and יִשְׂרָאֵל תְּדַבֵּר in col. I 33).

## VARIANTS

27:3 (25) אַחִי אֲבִינִי ובנ]ים ] מַט [מת ובנ]ים 4QNum<sup>b</sup> מ

27:4 (27) אַחִי אֲבִינִי ובנ]ים ] מַט [אחזה] בתוך מ (cf. v 7)

27:7 (32) אֵין אֲחִיָּם ] מַט [א]בִּיהֶם מ<sup>ms</sup>

- 27:8 (34)      זז העברתם ] ונתתם ; περιθήσετε Ⓞ  
 27:12 (42)      זז אלן משה עלה ] אל משה לאמר עלה ] זז<sup>ms</sup>  
 27:13 (44)      זז עמיד ] זז עמיד

## Col. II Num 28:11-12

- [עלה ליהוה פרים בני בקר שנים ואיל] 41  
 אחד כב[שים בני שנה שבעה תמימם] 42  
 12ושלשה ע[שרנים סלת מנחה בלולה בשמן] 43  
 לפר האחד[ ושני עשרנים סלת מנחה] 44

*bottom margin*

## NOTES ON READINGS

The right and bottom margins are preserved for this column, which originally contained Num 27:13b to c.28:12.

L. 41 (28:11) עלה. If the dark shadow at the left edge of the leather is ink, it cannot be *lamed*, which was written closer to *ayin* (cf. על col. I 24).

*Unidentified Fragment*

The following fragment does not appear on PAM 42.187 or any other plate, so no photograph is included in this edition. Well after the plate was made, it was placed with 5/6HevNum<sup>a</sup>, XHev/SeNum<sup>b</sup>, and 5/6HevDeut on Mus. Inv. 534 (having not been there in the early 1990s when the present editor first examined the Hev/Se scrolls at the Rockefeller Museum).

The leather of this fragment is fairly smooth and was quite well prepared, but its *verso* is somewhat rough. The fragment measures 6.2 cm across at its widest point and 1.8 cm in height. Horizontal rulings are clearly visible.

The script is similar, but not identical, to that of XHev/SeNum<sup>b</sup> and 5/6HevDeut; thus the fragment may well be from Nahal Hever, but it is clearly not part of either of those scrolls. In fact, the fragment appears not to be biblical.

## Frg. 1

- [ א 1  
 [ ילדה ] 2  
 [ את יעלם זא ] 3



### 3. XHev/SeDeuteronomy

(PLATE XXIX)

Previous discussion: P. W. Flint and A. E. Alvarez, 'Two Biblical Scrolls from Naḥal Hever (XHev/SeNum<sup>b</sup> and XHev/SeDeut), Once Claimed to be from "Wadi Seiyal"', *RevQ* 18/72 (1999) 531–40, esp. 537–40 + pl. 4; F. García Martínez, 'Les Manuscrits de Désert de Juda et le Deutéronome', in *Studies in Deuteronomy in Honour of C. J. Labuschagne on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, ed. by F. García Martínez, A. Hilhorst, J. T. A. G. M. van Ruiten, and A. S. van der Woude (VTSup 53; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994) 63–82, esp. 78–9; J. C. Greenfield, 'The Texts from Naḥal Hever (Wadi Seiyal)', in *The Madrid Qumran Congress. Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid. 18–21 March 1991*, ed. by J. Treballe Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner (STDJ 11.2; Leiden: E. J. Brill; Madrid: Universidad Complutense, 1992) 661–5, esp. 661–3.

THE single fragment of XHev/Se 3 (XHev/SeDeut) preserves portions of Deut 9:4–7, 21–23. The two columns originally contained Deuteronomy 9 together with material from either chapter 8 or chapter 10, depending whether the fragment came from near the top or bottom of its two columns. While twenty-seven scrolls from Qumran preserve text from Deuteronomy, XHev/SeDeut is one of three documents found at other locations to do so (the other two being from Murabba'at [MurDeut] and Masada [MasDeut]). Of all thirty Deuteronomy scrolls, six from Qumran (1QDeut<sup>a</sup>, 1QDeut<sup>b</sup>, 4QDeut<sup>c</sup>, 4QDeut<sup>f</sup>, 4QDeut<sup>g</sup>, and 5QDeut) also preserve text from Deuteronomy 9, but only 4QDeut<sup>f</sup> preserves any overlapping text (the single word הוֹרֵת in verse 6).

#### *Physical Description*

The leather is moderately thick and was originally light brown in colour, but has darkened considerably. The writing surface (*recto*) was not very well prepared and is now abraded—especially along the lower left diagonal edge—and the *verso* is fairly rough. The fragment measures 4.7 cm in height, 4.5 cm across at its widest point, and preserves text in two adjoining columns. Because no top or bottom margins are preserved, the beginnings and endings of these columns cannot be determined with precision, but each consisted of approximately thirty-nine lines.

The left margin of the first column and the right margin of the second are preserved. The distance between the tops of the letters in succeeding lines is 5–7 mm. Presuming a top margin of *c.*1.5 cm and a bottom margin of *c.*2 cm, the height of each column was approximately 28 cm. The intercolumnar space is not uniform owing to differing lengths of the lines, but on the preserved fragment is at least 1 cm (between cols. I 2 and II 2). The number of letter-spaces averages 35.6 for the thirteen preserved lines, ranging from 33 (col. I 5) to 38 (col. I 2, 6). In one instance the count is exceptionally high (41 in col. II 2; see COMMENTS), and in another the line has 27 spaces but measures about 35 counting an interval (col. I 8, see NOTES ON READINGS). There is no evidence of stitching or of any vertical rulings; however, the faint horizontal line above the top of יהוה in col. II 4 might be an unusually high horizontal ruling.



### Palaeography

The script is a late Herodian bookhand from *c.*50–68 CE, and has close affinities with 4QDeut<sup>j</sup>, 4QPs<sup>b</sup>, and 5/6Hev/SePs.<sup>1</sup> Several letters are distinguished by *keraiiai* or are thickened at the top (*bet*, *gimel*, final *kap*, *lamed*, final *nun*, and *reš*). Features which mark the writing as specifically Herodian include the following: (a) The baseline of *bet* is drawn from left to right, sometimes breaking through the right downstroke (cf. לבבך col. I 2). (b) For final *kap* the head loops into the downstroke at the right shoulder. This produces a raised juncture which combines with the *keraiia* on the left tip to give the head a concave appearance (cf. לבבך col. I 2; [ל]אבתך col. I 5; בצדקתך col. I 6). (c) For *lamed*, what was a hook at the top of the vertical stroke found in earlier scripts has now become a *keraiia* (cf. לבבך col. I 2; ולמען col. I 4). (d) The tendency for *ayin* to rotate clockwise is fully developed (cf. ולמען col. I 4; עלון col. II 5).

### Orthography, Morphology, and Textual Character

The orthography of XHev/Se 3 appears to be sparing, without the use of *waw* ([ל]אבתך), and possibly without *yod* (הגוים; cf. 11QPs<sup>a</sup> IV 11 and XXVI 1) as vowel letters. The shorter morphological form in *ך*- rather than in *כה*- is well attested (לבבך, [מפניך], [ל]אבתך, בצדקתך). The surviving text contains no scribal errors, corrections or insertions.

Not enough text has survived for a proper textual assessment to be reached, but, along with the other late Hev/Se biblical scrolls, XHev/Se 3 most likely contained a text similar to that found in 11.

Mus. Inv. 534 (tab number on plate: Se I; see BIBLICAL SCROLLS FROM NAHAL HEVER AND 'WADI SEIYAL': INTRODUCTION)  
PAM 42.187

Col. I Deut 9:4-7

[לרשת את הארץ הזאת וברשעת הגוים האלה]	1
[יהוה מורישם מפניך <sup>5</sup> לא בצדקתך ובישר לבבך]	2
[אתה בא לרשת את ארצם כי ברשעת הגוים]	3
[האלה יהוה אלהיך מורישם מפניך ולמען]	4

<sup>1</sup> F. M. Cross, 'Palaeography and the Dead Sea Scrolls', in *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment*, ed. by P. W. Flint and J. C. VanderKam (2 vols., Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1998–99) 1.379–402 + pls. 9–14, esp. pl. 10 lines 7–9.



[הקים את הדבר אשר נשבע יהוה ל]אֲבִיחַךְ	5
[לאברהם ליצחק וליעקב וידעת כי לא ]בצדקתך	6
יהוה אלהיך נתן לך את הארץ הטובה ה]זאת	7
[לרשתה כי עם קשה ערף אתה זכ]ר <sup>7</sup>	8

## NOTES ON READINGS

The left margin is preserved for this column.

L. 1 (9:4) [הא]לֹהִים. The bottom tip of *lamed* is just visible on the edge of the leather to the bottom right of *he*.

L. 3 (9:5) הַגּוֹיִם. Judging by the thickness of the crossbars of the two *hes* in יהוה (verse 22, col. II 4), the ink above *he* is most likely part of the letter and has been dislodged.

L. 4 (9:5) [אלהיך]. The length of the partly reconstructed line indicates that this word was present as in מ, not omitted as in מ<sup>mss</sup> Ⓞ.

L. 5 (9:5) [יהוה]. The length of the partly reconstructed line indicates that this word was present as in Ⓞ, not omitted as in מ<sup>mss</sup> (including Kenn 1) Ⓞ<sup>B min</sup> Ⓞ.

L. 5 (9:5) [לא]בִּיחַךְ. For the almost vertical top left side of *alep*, cf. [ה]זאת in verse 6 (col. I 7). The dark spot within *bet* is a random speck of ink.

L. 7 (9:6) [ה]זאת. Although only the top of the first visible letter remains, its rounded tip suggests *zayin* rather than *waw* or *yod*, since the latter two tend to have pointed tips in this hand (e.g. הַגּוֹיִם col. I 3; יהוה col. II 4).

L. 8 (9:7) [זכ]ר. The letter at the bottom of the leather is most likely *reš*, in view of the distinctive downward tick (cf. [ובי]שר col. I 2), thus signalling an interval after verse 6 (as in מ). Two other options may be considered. The first is *het* ([זכר אל תשכח]) which is possible but unlikely. The second possibility is *lamed* ([זכר אל], thus García Martínez)<sup>2</sup> but three points militate against this reading: (a) The preserved ink is more consistent with *reš* than with *lamed*. (b) The ink in line 8 appears to be from a high letter (such as *lamed*) only because lines 7 and 8 have been crowded into the available space, with a distance of 5 mm between the tops of lines 6-7 and 7-8. (This need not be seen as a high letter, since there is also little space between lines 4-5 and 6-7). (c) The small interval does not fit the available space.

## Col. II Deut 9:21-23

[	]	1
וא]שִׁלַּח אֶת עֲפָרוֹ אֶל הַנַּחַל הַיַּרְדֵּן מִן הַהָר <sup>22</sup> וּבַתְּבַעֲרָה]		2
וּבְמִסְּהָה וּבְקִבְרַת הַתְּאוּהָ מִקְצָפִים הֵייתָם אֶת]		3
יְהוָה] <sup>23</sup> וּבְשִׁלַּח יְהוָה אֶתְכֶם מִקְדָּשׁ בְּרַנֵּעַ לֵאמֹר]		4
עֲלֹנוּ וְרָשׁוּ אֶת הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר נָתַתִּי לָכֶם וְתָמְרוּ]		5
אֵת פִּי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם וְלֹא הֵאֱמַנְתֶּם לוֹ וְלֹא]		6

<sup>2</sup> 'Les Manuscrits de Désert de Juda et le Deutéronome', 78.

## NOTES ON READINGS

The right margin is preserved for this column, whose line numbers are determined in relation to col. I. If no variants from  $\aleph$  were present in the missing words (there are none in  $\mu\text{G}$ ), line 2 must have been very long, containing 41 letter-spaces; however, this is feasible in view of the 38 letter-spaces for col. I 2, 6. There is no room for the interval found in  $\aleph$  following verse 21. A variant reading (with the line starting with  $\text{וואה}$  or  $\text{ואל}$ ) would make the text shorter and allow for the interval, but this is not grammatically possible.

L. 2 (9:21)  $\text{ואישלך}$ . For the distinctive right side of *alep*, cf.  $\text{והואה}$  verse 6 (col. I 7).

L. 5 (9:23)  $\text{עלוי}$ . The ink below *waw* in line 4 seems to be part of *lamed*, with the lower part of the descender flaked away.

## 5. XHev/SePhylactery

(PLATE XXX)

THE TEXT\* consists of two fragments of arm *tefillin*, bearing, in succession, the following texts: Exod 13:1-16; Deut 6:4-9; and Deut 11:13-21. Frg. 2 continues directly from frg. 1 with the second half of Deut 11:17, and it is possible that the two fragments were joined in some way. Two small traces of ink at the top of frg. 2 may perhaps be the lower points of letters found on frg. 1, implying that the two fragments were joined at the time of writing. The two fragments were certainly folded together, as proved by vertical fold-marks found along the width of both fragments at a distance of *c.*2.5 cm apart. Horizontal fold-marks are found at three places approximately 1 cm apart in frg. 1, and at one point on frg. 2. Frg. 1 has maximal measurements of 29.5 x 3.5 cm and contains fourteen lines of writing. Frg. 2 has maximal measurements of 14 x 1.5 cm and contains five lines of writing.

### *Script*

The text is written across the entire length of the fragments in a small script, thus producing long, extended lines which occasionally waver up and down and run into one another. The standard letter-height is *c.*2.5 mm, but some letters are as high as 4 mm, with considerable variation between the two. There is a particular tendency to heighten the *tet*, e.g. in פטר (frg. 1 2). The *mem* has a peculiar shape, as it bears no left stroke and thus resembles a *šade*. Occasionally, the left stroke of *alep* is omitted, as is common in semi-cursives. *Gimel* often reclines backwards. *Yod*, *waw*, and *zayin* are each usually written with a single stroke, and distinguishing among them depends on the context, e.g. מזוח (frgs. 1 9; 2 4). *Zayin* is occasionally written with a slightly broader stroke, e.g. in זח (frg. 1 3). The looped downstroke of the head of *qop* is sometimes absent, giving the *qop* the appearance of a 'T', e.g. in בחוק (frg. 1 7).

The minuscule proportions of the script and the tangled appearance of the text—as well as the disturbance caused by the fold-marks (particularly severe on frg. 2)—make for exceptional difficulties in deciphering the text. Working with enlargements of four times by area, the text was traced to provide the general shape of the individual letters, sometimes with the aid of backlighting. This was of considerable benefit for distinguishing between the different lines, and also allowed for the identification of many individual letters that at first glance were difficult to discern. Since the text is biblical and hence familiar, troublesome letters could often be identified, though efforts were taken to avoid imposing familiar readings on the blurred areas. In fact, the text at most points agrees with א, though it does contain some unique readings. There are

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\* M. Morgenstern transcribed the text and produced the INTRODUCTION, NOTES ON READINGS, and COMMENTS. M. Segal compiled the VARIANTS and wrote the section TEXTUAL STATUS.

also numerous scribal errors, e.g. ירארה for יראה (frg. 1 3); תרות for תורה (frg. 1 4, if not intended to represent the plural *tôrôt*).

### *Orthography and Morphology*

The language of the biblical text does not demonstrate any of the signs of Qumran orthography or morphology. A peculiarity is the spelling of the feminine singular demonstrative pronoun as זה rather than the older זאת. The interrogative pronoun appears in frg. 1 6 as מא rather than מה. Historical *samek* is written with *sin* in ושרחם (frg. 1 14). Of significance may be the form יציאים. E. Qimron (oral communication) compares the form נושיאי[ם] in 4Q364 11 3, in which the first *yod* reflects the pronunciation of the *shewa* as an *i* vowel under the influence of the *i* vowel following the laryngeal *alep*. Alternatively, we may read יצואים, in which case it may reflect the use of the *Pāṭl* form as an active participle. Such forms have a precedent in the Bible (compare בְּנוּךָ, Jer 3:7, 10) and become more common later in Mishnaic Hebrew and Palestinian Aramaic.<sup>1</sup> ולאזכרון (frg. 1 4) bears a prosthetic *alep*, though it may be left over from an incorrect word the scribe mistakenly wrote and did not fully erase (see NOTES ON READINGS).<sup>2</sup>

Mus. Inv. 543  
PAM 42.191

Frg. 1 Exod 13:1-16, Deut 6:4-9, 11:13-17

- 1 וידבר יהוה אל משה לאמר <sup>2</sup>קדש לי כל בכֹּרֹ בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּאֲדָם וּבַהֵם לִי הוּא <sup>3</sup>וַיֹּאמֶר  
משה אל העם זכר את היום הזה אשר יצאתם ממצרים מבית עבדים כי בחזק יד  
הוציא יהוה אתכם מזה ולא יאכל חמץ <sup>4</sup>היום אתם
- 2 יציאים בחדש האביב <פטר כל רחם> <sup>5</sup>והיה כי יביאך יהוה אל ארץ הכנעני והחתי  
והאמרי והחוי והיבוסים אשר נשבע לאבותך לתת לך ארץ זבת חלב ודבש ועבדת את  
העבדה הזת בחדש הזה <sup>6</sup>שבעת ימים
- 3 תאכל מצת וביום השבעי חג ליהוה <sup>7</sup>מצות יאכל את שבעת הימים ולא ירארה לך חמץ ולא  
יראה שאר בכל גבלך <sup>8</sup>והגדת לבנך ביום ההוא בעבור זה עשה יהוה לי בצאתי  
ממצרים <sup>9</sup>והיה לך לאות על ידִיךָ

<sup>1</sup> See M. Bar-Asher, 'Rare Forms in the Language of the Tannaim', *Lešonenu* 41 (1977) 95–102 (Hebrew); A. Tal, 'Observations on Word Formation in Samaritan Aramaic II: The קסול Pattern', in *Studies in Mishnaic Hebrew*, ed. by M. Bar-Asher (ScrHier 37; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1998) 349–64.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Qimron, *HDSS*, §200.25.



ולאזכרון בין עיניך למען תהיה תרות יהוה בפיך כי ביד חזקה הציאך יהוה ממצרים <sup>10</sup> ושמרת את החקה הזת למועדה מימים ימימה <sup>11</sup> והיה כי יביאך יהוה אל ארץ הכנעני כאשר נשבע לך	4
ולאבותך ונתנה לך <sup>12</sup> והעברת כל פטר רחם ליהוה וכל פטר שגר בהמה אשר יהיה הזכרים ליהוה <sup>13</sup> וכל פטר חמר תפדה בשה ואם לא תפדה וערפתו וכל בכור אדם בבנך תפדה <sup>14</sup> ויהיה כי	5
ישאלך בנך מחר לאמר מא זה ואמרת אליו בְּחֹזֶק יָד הוֹצִיאָנוּ יְהוָה ממצרים <sup>15</sup> ויהי כי הקשה פרעה לשלחנו ויהרג יהוה כל בכור בארץ מצרים מבכר אדם עד בכר בהמה על כן אני זבח ליהוה	6
כל פטר רחם הזכרים וכל בכור בני אפדה <sup>16</sup> [ו]יהיה לאות על ידכם ולטושפת בין עיניך כי בחזק יד הציאנו יהוה ממצרים	7
שמע ישראל יהוה אחד <sup>5</sup> ואהבת את יהוה אלהיך בכל לבבך ובכל נפשך ובכל מאדך <sup>6</sup> והיו הדברים האלה אשר אנכי מצוך היום על לבבך <sup>7</sup> ושננת לבנך ודברת בם בשבתך בביתך ובלכת בדרך ובשכבך ובקומך <sup>8</sup> וקשרתם לאות על ידיך והיו לטושפת בין עיניך <sup>9</sup> וכתבתם על מזוזת ביתך ובשערך <sup>11:13</sup> והיה אם שמע תשמעו אל מצותי אשר אנכי מצוה אתכם היום לאהבה את יהוה אלהיכם ולעבדו בכל לבבך <sup>14</sup> ונתתי מטר ארצכם בעתו ויורה ומלקוש ואספת רגנך ותירשך ויצהרך <sup>15</sup> ונתתי עשב בשדך לבהמתך ואכלת ושבעת <sup>16</sup> השמרו לכם פן יפתה לבבכם ושרתם ועבדתם אלהים אחרים והשתחוויתם להם <sup>17</sup> וחרה אף יהוה בכם ועצר את	8
9	9
10	10
11	11
12	12
13	13
14	14
15	15

## NOTES ON READINGS

L. 1 הוה. There is too much room for the *zayin*. The text appears to have been corrected, leaving a large ink blot.

L. 2 פטר כל רחם. These words were apparently omitted accidentally from the first line and were added by the scribe in the second line more or less at the position they should have held in the first. When he came to write the second line, the scribe seems to have completed the word אביב, then skipped over the additions to the first line and continued the text after רחם, without leaving any space.

L. 3 הימים. The *he* is rather large, with an unusual right stroke.

L. 4 ולאזכרון. The *reš* appears to have been written over another letter which is no longer identifiable. Perhaps the scribe accidentally wrote the wrong word, and only partially corrected it by writing the *reš* while retaining an anomalous *ʿalep*; the *ʿalep*, on the other hand, could be prosthetic (see ORTHOGRAPHY AND MORPHOLOGY).

L. 6 הוֹצִיאָנוּ. The text is too blurry to allow for the definite identification of any of these letters.



L. 8 זבלל. Here, too, the text is too blurry to allow for the definite identification of any of the letters.

L. 8 מצוך. After the *mem* there appears to be another letter, perhaps a second *mem* or a first attempt at the *šade*. In any case, a scribal error may be assumed.

L. 9 וכתבתם. These letters are illegible in the photograph, but they can be clearly discerned on the original.

L. 11 בכל לבבך. After לבבך there are two ink-strokes, but no letter can be read.

## VARIANTS

- Exod 13:2 (1) ובה בהם ] ובהמה 4QPhyl A, M, R 8QPhyl XQPhyl 1 MurPhyl 34Se Phyl מו ט ט<sup>o</sup>
- 13:3 (1) זכר ] 4QExod<sup>e</sup> 4QDeut<sup>j</sup> 4QPhyl A, I 4QMez F XQPhyl 1 MurPhyl 34Se Phyl מ; ט<sup>o</sup> ט זכרו
- 13:3 (1) יצאתם 4QExod<sup>e</sup> 4QPhyl R 8QPhyl XQPhyl 1 MurPhyl 34Se Phyl מ ט<sup>o</sup> ] + בו 4QPhyl I (corr), M ט ט
- 13:3 (1) ממצרים 4QPhyl R 4QMez F 8QPhyl XQPhyl 1 MurPhyl 34Se Phyl מט<sup>A</sup> ט<sup>o</sup> ] מצרים 4QExod<sup>e</sup> 4QPhyl A, L, M ט<sup>B</sup>
- 13:4 (1) ואתם ] XQPhyl 1 MurPhyl 34Se Phyl מט<sup>o</sup> ט
- 13:4 (2) יציאים ] 4QPhyl R XQPhyl 1 MurPhyl 34Se Phyl מ; יציאים 4QPhyl A ט
- 13:5 (2) יהוה 4QPhyl I XQPhyl 1 MurPhyl 34Se Phyl מט<sup>o</sup> ] + אלהיך 4QExod<sup>e</sup> 4QPhyl M, R ט ט
- 13:5 (2) אל ארץ הכנעני והחתי והאמרי והחוי והיבوسی 8QPhyl XQPhyl 1 34Se Phyl MurPhyl מ ט<sup>o</sup> ]  
 4QExod<sup>e</sup> אל ארץ [הכנעני] החתי החוי האמרי היבوسی  
 4QDeut<sup>j</sup> אל [הארץ הכנעני] החתי וה[הגרגשי]  
 4QPhyl A האמורי הפרזי [החוי היבوسی הגרגשי]  
 4QPhyl C אל הארץ [הכנעני] החתי והאמרי [החוי והיבוס]  
 4QPhyl I אל ארץ הכנעני החתי  
 4QPhyl M החתי האמורי הפרזי החוי היבوسی הגרגשי  
 4QPhyl Q הפרזי  
 4QPhyl R אל ארץ הכנעני החתי האמרי [היבוס]  
 ט אל ארץ הכנעני החתי והאמרי והפרזי והגרגשי החוי והיבוס  
 ט\* אל ארץ הכנעני החתי החוי והגרגשי והאמרי והפרזי והיבוס  
 ט\* אל ארץ הכנעני החתי והאמרי החוי והיבוס והפרזי
- 13:5 (2) אשר XQPhyl 1 מט<sup>o</sup> ט אשר 4QExod<sup>e</sup> 4QDeut<sup>j</sup> 4QPhyl M ט
- 13:5 (2) לאבותך ] XQPhyl 1 MurPhyl 34Se Phyl מט; לאבותך 4QExod<sup>e</sup> 4QPhyl R; לאבותך 4QDeut<sup>j</sup> [לאבותך]
- 13:5 (2) הוואת 4QExod<sup>e</sup> 4QPhyl C, I, R XQPhyl 1 MurPhyl מט; הוואת 4QPhyl M; הוואת 8QPhyl
- 13:6 (2) שבעה 4QPhyl C 8QPhyl XQPhyl 1 MurPhyl 34Se Phyl מט<sup>o</sup> ] ששת 4QPhyl E, I, M, R ט ט
- 13:6 (3) תאכלו 4QPhyl M ט ט ] 8QPhyl XQPhyl 1 MurPhyl 34Se Phyl<sup>3</sup> מט<sup>o</sup>
- 13:6 (3) מצות 8QPhyl MurPhyl 34Se Phyl מ ] מצות XQPhyl 1 ט; מצות 4QPhyl M
- 13:7 (3) יאכל XQPhyl 1 MurPhyl מט ] εδεσθε ט

<sup>3</sup> Aharoni read תאכלו, but a close inspection of the fragment reveals no *waw*.

- 13:7 (3) 4QPhyl C, M, R 8QPhyl XQPhyl 1 34Se Phyl  $\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{T}^{\circ}S$  ] ולא  $\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{T}$ ; [4QPhyl Q לוןא]
- 13:7 (3) 4QPhyl I, M 8QPhyl XQPhyl 1 MurPhyl 34Se Phyl  $\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{M}$  ] ירארה
- 13:7 (3) 4QPhyl C, I, M 8QPhyl XQPhyl 1 MurPhyl 34Se Phyl  $\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{T}^{\circ}$  + ] יראה
- 13:7 (3) 4QPhyl I, R XQPhyl 1  $\mathfrak{M}$ ; 4QPhyl M גבולכה ] MurPhyl  $\mathfrak{M}$  גבולך
- 13:8 (3) 4QPhyl C, M, R 4QPhyl  $\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{T}^{\circ}$ ; + XQPhyl 1 MurPhyl 34Se Phyl  $\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{T}^{\circ}$  ] הווא
- 13:8 (3) 4QPhyl C XQPhyl 1 MurPhyl  $\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{T}^{\circ}$  ]  $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma \delta \theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma \mathfrak{T}$ ;  $\mathfrak{I}h\mathfrak{y} S$  יהוה
- 13:9 (3) 4QPhyl C, M, Q, R XQPhyl 1 MurPhyl  $\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{T}^{\circ}S$  ]  $\mathfrak{M}$  ודיו
- 13:9 (3) 4QPhyl B, M 4QPhyl  $\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{T}^{\circ}$ ; MurPhyl 34Se Phyl  $\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{T}^{\circ}$  ] ידך 4QPhyl E, I, R XQPhyl 1  $\mathfrak{M}$
- 13:9 (4) 4QPhyl B, M 4QPhyl  $\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{M}$ ; 4QPhyl E, I, M XQPhyl 1 MurPhyl 34Se Phyl  $\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{M}$ ; ] ולאוכרון
- 13:9 (4) 4QPhyl B, C, I, R XQPhyl 1 MurPhyl  $\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{M}$  ] תרות
- 13:9 (4) 4QPhyl R ] הוציאכה  $\mathfrak{M}$ ; 8QPhyl MurPhyl 34Se Phyl  $\mathfrak{M}$ ; 4QPhyl C הוציאך
- 13:10 (4) 4QPhyl B, M;  $\kappa\alpha\lambda \phi\upsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\xi\epsilon\sigma\theta\epsilon \mathfrak{T}$  ] 4QPhyl C, R XQPhyl 1 MurPhyl  $\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{M}$  ושמתה
- 13:10 (4) 4QPhyl M 4QPhyl  $\mathfrak{M}$ ; 4QPhyl C, R 8QPhyl XQPhyl 1 MurPhyl  $\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{M}$  ] הוואת
- 13:11 (4) 4QPhyl B, F 4QPhyl C MurPhyl  $\mathfrak{M}$ ; 4QPhyl G 4QMez G XQPhyl 3  $\mathfrak{M}$  ] יביאך
- 13:11 (4) 4QPhyl G  $\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{T}$  4QPhyl G אלהיך + ] 4QPhyl C 4QMez G XQPhyl 3 MurPhyl  $\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{T}^{\circ}S$  יהוה
- 13:11 (4-5)  $\mathfrak{T} > \text{rel } ]$  לך ר
- 13:11 (5) 4QPhyl B, G 4QPhyl  $\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{M}$ ; 4QPhyl F 4QMez G XQPhyl 3 MurPhyl  $\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{M}$ ; ] ולאבותך
- 13:12 (5)  $\mathfrak{T}$  (הזכרים) =  $\tau\acute{\alpha} \acute{\alpha}\rho\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\iota\kappa\acute{\alpha}$  + ] 4QMez G MurPhyl 34Se Phyl  $\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{M}$  רחם
- 13:12 (5)  $\mathfrak{T}$  (רחם) =  $\mu\acute{\eta}\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha\nu$  + ]  $\text{rel } 2$  פטר
- 13:12 (5) 4QPhyl C, G 4QMez G  $\mathfrak{T}$  ] 4QPhyl C, G 4QMez G  $\mathfrak{T}$  בהמה
- 13:12 (5)  $\mathfrak{M}$  יהו לך; 4QPhyl C, F, G 4QMez G 8QPhyl XQPhyl 3 MurPhyl  $\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{T}^{\circ}S$ ; + ] יהוה
- 13:12 (5)  $\mathfrak{T}$  (תקדיש) =  $\text{pr } \acute{\alpha}\gamma\iota\acute{\alpha}\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ ;  $\mathfrak{T}$  (תקדיש) =  $\text{pr } \mathfrak{T}^{\circ}$  ] יהוה
- 13:13 (5)  $\mathfrak{T}$ ;  $\text{rel } ]$  +  $\mu\acute{\eta}\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha\nu \mathfrak{T}$ ;  $\text{rhm}' S$  פטר
- 13:13 (5) 4QPhyl B, F 4QMez G  $\mathfrak{M}$  ] 4QPhyl B, F 4QMez G  $\mathfrak{M}$  חמור
- 13:13 (5) 4QPhyl C 4QMez G  $\mathfrak{M}$  ] 4QPhyl F XQPhyl 3 MurPhyl  $\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{T}^{\circ}$  חפרה
- 13:13 (5) 4QPhyl C 4QMez G 8QPhyl XQPhyl 3 MurPhyl  $\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{T}^{\circ}S$  ] בבניך
- 13:14 (5) 4QPhyl C, F 8QPhyl XQPhyl 3 MurPhyl  $\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{M}$  ] ויהוה
- 13:14 (6) 4QPhyl B, C, F 4QMez G XQPhyl 3 MurPhyl  $\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{M}$  ] מא
- 13:14 (6) 4QPhyl B 4QPhyl  $\mathfrak{M}$ ; 4QPhyl C 4QMez G XQPhyl 3 MurPhyl  $\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{M}$  ] זת
- 13:14 (6) 4QPhyl B, C, F, H 4QMez G 8QPhyl XQPhyl 3 MurPhyl  $\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{T}^{\circ}S$ ; ] ממצרים
- 13:14 (6)  $\mathfrak{T}$ ;  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa \gamma\eta\varsigma \text{ A}\iota\gamma\upsilon\pi\tau\omicron\upsilon \acute{\epsilon}\xi \omicron\acute{\iota}\kappa\omicron\upsilon \delta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\acute{\alpha}\varsigma \mathfrak{T}$  ] יהוה
- 13:15 (6)  $\mathfrak{T} > \text{rel } ]$  יהוה
- 13:15 (6) 4QPhyl C, H  $\mathfrak{M}$  ] 8QPhyl XQPhyl 3 MurPhyl  $\mathfrak{M}$  מבכר
- 13:15 (6) 4QPhyl B, F, H 8QPhyl XQPhyl 3 MurPhyl B  $\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{T}^{\circ}S$  ] 4QPhyl C  $\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{T}$  עד
- 13:15 (6) 4QPhyl H 8QPhyl XQPhyl 3 MurPhyl 34Se Phyl  $\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{M}$  ] בכר
- 13:15 (7) 4QPhyl B, C 4QPhyl  $\mathfrak{M}$ ; 4QPhyl H 4QMez G 8QPhyl XQPhyl 3 MurPhyl  $\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{T}^{\circ}S$  ]  $\text{pr } \mathfrak{T}$  אדם בר בני

- 13:16 (7) ] 8QPhyl XQPhyl 3 MurPhyl  $\text{m}\tau\epsilon^{\circ}\text{s}$  ] והיו 4QPhyl F;  $\text{m}$ ; והיו לך; + 4QPhyl C S; + 4QPhyl B
- 13:16 (7) ] XQPhyl 3 MurPhyl  $\text{m}\tau\epsilon^{\circ}\text{s}$  ] ידיך 4QPhyl C, H  $\text{m}$ ; ידיכה 4QPhyl B
- 13:16 (7) ] 4QPhyl B, C, H 8QPhyl XQPhyl 3 MurPhyl 34Se Phyl  $\text{m}$  ] ולטמפות 4QExod<sup>d</sup>  $\text{m}$
- 13:16 (7) ] הציאנו XQPhyl 3 MurPhyl  $\text{m}$ ; הציאו 4QPhyl C;  $\text{m}\tau\epsilon\text{s}$  הציאך
- Deut 6:4 (8) ] ישראל + 4QDeut<sup>p</sup> 4QPhyl C, H XQPhyl 2 MurPhyl  $\text{m}\tau\epsilon^{\circ}\text{s}$
- 6:6 (8) ] מִצִּוְךָ 4QPhyl C 8QPhyl XQPhyl 2 MurPhyl  $\text{m}\tau\epsilon^{\circ}\text{s}$ ; מִצְוֹכָה 4QPhyl I; see NOTES ON READINGS
- 6:6 (8) ] rel ] + καὶ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ σου  $\tau$
- 6:7 (8) ] ושנתם 4QPhyl C 4QMez D XQPhyl 2 MurPhyl  $\text{m}\tau\epsilon^{\circ}\text{s}$
- 6:7 (8) ] לבניך 8QPhyl XQPhyl 2 MurPhyl  $\text{m}\tau\epsilon^{\circ}\text{s}$
- 6:7 (8) ] בביתך 4QMez C XQPhyl 2 MurPhyl  $\text{m}\tau\epsilon^{\circ}\text{s}$  ] בבית 4QPhyl C, O  $\text{m}\tau$
- 6:7 (8) ] ובלכתך 4QPhyl C XQPhyl 2 MurPhyl  $\text{m}\tau\epsilon^{\circ}\text{s}$ ; ובלכתך  $\text{m}$
- 6:7 (9) ] ובשכבך 4QPhyl C 8QPhyl XQPhyl 2 MurPhyl  $\text{m}\tau\epsilon^{\circ}\text{s}$  ] בשכבך  $\text{m}$
- 6:8 (9) ]  $\text{m}$  ידיך 8QPhyl XQPhyl 2 MurPhyl  $\text{m}\tau\epsilon^{\circ}\text{s}$ ; ידיכה 4QPhyl O
- 6:8 (9) ] 8QPhyl MurPhyl  $\text{m}$  ] ולטמפות  $\text{m}$ ; ולטמפות 4QDeut<sup>p</sup>; [לטמפות] 4QPhyl C
- 6:9 (9) ] MurPhyl  $\text{m}\tau\epsilon^{\circ}\text{s}$  ] καὶ γράψετε αὐτά  $\tau$
- 6:9 (9) ] מוזוח 8QPhyl  $\text{m}$  ] מוזוח 4QPhyl O XQPhyl 2  $\text{m}$ ; מוזוח 4QMez C MurPhyl
- 6:9 (10) ] 4QDeut<sup>p</sup> 8QPhyl MurPhyl  $\text{m}$  ] בתוך  $\text{m}$ ; בתוך 4QPhyl C; בחיכה 4QPhyl O; τῶν οἰκιῶν ὑμῶν  $\tau$ ; dbtyk S
- 6:9 (10) ] ובשערך 4QPhyl C 8QPhyl XQPhyl 2 MurPhyl  $\text{m}\tau\epsilon\text{s}$ ; καὶ τῶν πυλῶν ὑμῶν  $\tau$
- 11:13 (10) ] אל מצותי 8QMez MurPhyl  $\text{m}\tau\epsilon^{\circ}\text{s}$  ] πάσας τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ  $\tau$
- 11:13 (10) ] אֲנֹכִי 4QPhyl A, Q ] אֲנִי 4QPhyl C 8QPhyl 8QMez MurPhyl  $\text{m}\tau\epsilon\text{s}$
- 11:13 (10–11) ] rel ] ἐντέλλομαι σοι  $\tau$
- 11:13 (11) ] אלהיכם rel ] τὸν θεόν σου  $\tau$
- 11:13 (11) ] ולעבדו 4QPhyl C, I 8QPhyl 8QMez MurPhyl  $\text{m}\tau\epsilon^{\circ}\text{s}$  ] לעבדו  $\text{m}$
- 11:13 (11) ] לבבך־ 4QPhyl C 8QPhyl 8QMez MurPhyl  $\text{m}\tau\epsilon^{\circ}\text{s}$ ; τῆς καρδίας σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς σου  $\tau$
- 11:14 (11) ] ותתי 4QPhyl C 8QPhyl MurPhyl  $\text{m}\tau\epsilon^{\circ}\text{s}$  ] ותן 8QMez  $\text{m}\tau$
- 11:14 (12) ] ארצכם 4QPhyl C 8QPhyl 8QMez MurPhyl  $\text{m}\tau\epsilon^{\circ}\text{s}$  ] ארצך  $\text{m}\tau$
- 11:14 (12) ] ויורה 4QPhyl A 8QPhyl MurPhyl  $\text{m}\tau\epsilon^{\circ}\text{s}$ ;  $\text{m}$  יורה; ירה 4QPhyl C
- 11:14 (12) ] 8QPhyl 8QMez MurPhyl  $\text{m}$  ] דיגיןך  $\text{m}$ ; pr אה 4QPhyl C
- 11:14 (12) ] וחירשך 8QPhyl MurPhyl  $\text{m}\tau\epsilon^{\circ}\text{s}$  ] חירשך  $\text{m}$
- 11:15 (12) ] ותתי 4QPhyl C 8QPhyl MurPhyl  $\text{m}\tau\epsilon^{\circ}\text{s}$  ] ותן 4QPhyl A 8QMez  $\text{m}\tau$
- 11:16 (13) ] השמרו לכם 4QPhyl C 8QPhyl MurPhyl  $\text{m}\tau\epsilon^{\circ}\text{s}$  ] πρόσεχε σεαυτῶ  $\tau$
- 11:16 (13) ] לבבכם 4QPhyl C 8QPhyl 8QMez MurPhyl  $\text{m}\tau\epsilon^{\circ}\text{s}$  ] ἡ καρδία σου  $\tau$
- 11:16 (14) ] ושרתם 4QPhyl A, C 8QPhyl 8QMez MurPhyl  $\text{m}\tau\epsilon\text{s}$

## COMMENTS

L. 2 יציאים. For the significance of this form, see ORTHOGRAPHY AND MORPHOLOGY.

L. 3 ירארה. The reading probably represents a scribal error.

## Frg. 2 Deut 11:17-21

השמים ולא יהיה מטר והאדמה לא תתן את יבלה ואבדתם מהרה מעל הארץ	1
הטובה אשר יהוה נתן לכם <sup>18</sup> ושמתם [את] דברי אלה על לבבכם ועל נפשכם	2
וקשרתם אתם לאות על ידכם והיו [לשופטת ב]ין עיניך <sup>19</sup> ולמדתם אתם את בניכם לדבר	3
בם בשבתך בביתך ובלל[תך] בדרך ובשכבך] ובקומך <sup>20</sup> וכתבתם על מזוזת ביתך	4
ובשעריך <sup>21</sup> למען ירבו ימיכם] וימי בניכם על האדמה אשר נשבע יהוה	5
לאבותכם לתת להם כימי השמים על הארץ	6

## NOTES ON READINGS

L. 1 מעל . . . ואבדתם. The scribe has left a large space between the *dalet* and *taw*, and then again between the *mem* and *ayin*, apparently owing to difficulties in writing at the end of the small piece of parchment.

L. 3 אתם. These letters may be clearly discerned on the original.

## VARIANTS

11:17 (1)	יבלה ] 4QPhyl A, C 4QMez E MurPhyl מו
11:17 (1)	מהרה ] 4QPhyl A, C מו MurPhyl מו
11:17 (2)	הטובה ] 4QPhyl C 8QMez מו 8QPhyl MurPhyl מו
11:17 (2)	יהוה rel ] <i>mry<sup>3</sup>lhkwn S</i>
11:18 (3)	ידכם ] 8QPhyl MurPhyl מוט <sup>o</sup> מו
11:18 (3)	עיניך ] 4QPhyl P 4QMez E 8QMez (עיניכם) MurPhyl מוט <sup>o</sup> S; 4QPhyl A
11:19 (4)	בביתך ] 4QPhyl I מו 8QPhyl 8QMez MurPhyl מוט <sup>o</sup> S
11:19 (4)	בלכתך ] 4QPhyl I 8QPhyl <sup>4</sup> MurPhyl מוט <sup>o</sup> S
11:20 (4)	מזוזת ] 4QPhyl C, S 8QPhyl MurPhyl מו; מזוזת מו
11:20 (4)	ביתך ] 4QPhyl S MurPhyl מוט <sup>o</sup> 8QMez מו; [ב]חיקה 4QPhyl A, P; בתך 4QPhyl C; טוτ olkωτ ὑμωτ Θ; <i>dbtykwn S</i> ; בחיכון ] <sup>N</sup>
11:20 (5)	ובשעריך rel ] <i>καὶ τῶν πτωχῶν ὑμῶν Θ; w<sup>9</sup> trykwn S</i>
11:21 (5)	ירבו ] 4QPhyl A, S 8QPhyl 8QMez MurPhyl מו
11:21 (5)	יהוה rel ] <i>mry<sup>3</sup>lhkwn S</i>
11:21 (6)	לאבותכם ] 4QPhyl C 8QPhyl MurPhyl מו; לאבותיכם 4QPhyl I, S מו

<sup>4</sup> Although Milik read ובלכתך, the reading appears to be ובלכתך on the plate.



### Textual Status

When compared with other witnesses,<sup>5</sup> the arm *tefillin* presents twenty-nine unique readings. Some of these variants can be ascribed to carelessness, some represent genuine orthographical and morphological divergences, and others cannot be placed with certainty in either of these categories. The sheer number of unique readings should lead to a description of the text as of independent or non-aligned textual status, although the many mistakes of this scribe must be a source for caution. The more one views this scribe as careless, the more likely it is that the many variants which are described below as resulting from indeterminable reasons are also the result of this carelessness. Below is a classification of the unique readings. A full textual apparatus can be found in VARIANTS.

TABLE 1: *List of Variants*

Variants in Orthography and Morphology		Variants Due to Scribal Carelessness		Variants of Undetermined Cause	
Exod 13:3 (1)	זכר	Exod 13:2 (1)	ובה בהם	Exod 13:7 (3)	יראה
13:4 (2)	יצאים	13:7 (3)	ירארה	13:12 (5)	יהיה
13:5 (2)	לאבוהך	13:9 (4)	תרוח	13:14 (5)	ויהיה
13:5 (2)	הזח	Deut 6:4 (8)	ישראל (see VARIANTS)	13:14 (6)	ממצרים
13:9 (4)	ולאזכרון <sup>6</sup>	6:6 (8)	מ־צוך	Deut 11:18 (3)	עיניך
13:10 (4)	הזח	6:7 (8)	ושננת		
13:13 (5)	בבנך	6:7 (8)	ובלכת		
13:14 (6)	מא	11:13 (11)	לבבך		
13:14 (6)	זה	11:14 (12)	ויורה		
13:16 (7)	הציאנו				

<sup>5</sup> In addition to other textual witnesses ad loc., the large collection of *tefillin* and *mezuzot* from the Judaeen Desert was examined. These include 1QPhyl (1Q13) (D. Barthélemy, O.P. and J. T. Milik, *DJD* I [Oxford: Clarendon, 1955] 72–6), 4QPhyl A–S and 4QMez A–G (J. T. Milik, *DJD* VI [Oxford: Clarendon, 1977] 31–90), 8QPhyl and 8QMez (8Q3–4) published by M. Baillet (*DJD* III [Oxford: Clarendon, 1962] 149–61), XQPhyl 1–3 (Y. Yadin, ‘Tefillin (Phylacteries) from Qumran (XQ<sup>Phyl</sup> 1–4)’, *ErIsr* 9 [1969] 60–85), 34SePhyl (Y. Aharoni, ‘Expedition B’, *IEJ* 11 [1961] 11–24), and MurPhyl (J. T. Milik, *DJD* II [Oxford: Clarendon, 1961] 80–85).

34SePhyl was rechecked using the original fragments in the Rockefeller Museum as well as an unpublished set of colour photographs. The only difference from Aharoni’s description was in Exod 13:6; where he read תאכלו, we read תאכלו, which makes 34SePhyl identical to III.

Variants from the Samaritan Pentateuch were recorded using the edition of A. Tal, *The Samaritan Pentateuch Edited According to MS 6 (c) of the Shekhem Synagogue* (Tel Aviv: TAU Press, 1994).

All variants were recorded except for instances in which the only existing variants are due to the ‘Qumran system’ of writing, as described by E. Tov, ‘The Orthography and Language of the Hebrew Scrolls Found at Qumran and the Origin of These Scrolls’, *Textus* 13 (1986) 31–57; idem, ‘Hebrew Biblical Manuscripts from the Judaeen Desert: Their Contribution to Textual Criticism’, *JJS* 39 (1988) 5–37.

<sup>6</sup> But see NOTES ON READINGS.



Variants in Orthography and Morphology	Variants Due to Scribal Carelessness	Variants of Undetermined Cause
Deut 6:7 (8)	לבנך	
6:9 (10)	ובשערך	
11:16 (14)	ושרחם	
11:17 (1)	יבלה	
11:20 (4)	מוזוח	

Alongside the possibly independent nature of the scroll, one also finds textual affinity with  $\aleph$ , as against other witnesses such as the Samaritan Pentateuch. In a number of important readings, XHev/Se 5 agrees with  $\aleph$  and a group of Qumran texts very similar to it, such as 8QPhyl, and those from outside Qumran, such as MurPhyl and 34Se Phyl, all of which can be described as proto- $\aleph$  texts. Perhaps the most significant of these examples is the list of nations in Exod 13:5. The wide range of textual variation makes agreement with  $\aleph$  more significant.

Some additional examples of agreement with the  $\aleph$  group of texts include:

Exod 13:6 (2) שבעת 4QPhyl C 8QPhyl XQPhyl 1 MurPhyl 34Se Phyl  $\aleph^o s$  ] ששה 4QPhyl E, I, M, R  $\mu s$

Deut 11:14 (11) ותחזי 4QPhyl C 8QPhyl MurPhyl  $\aleph^o s$  ] ותחזי 8QMez  $\mu s$

11:15 (12) ותחזי 4QPhyl C 8QPhyl MurPhyl  $\aleph^o s$  ] ותחזי 4QPhyl A 8QMez  $\mu s$

Because these probably represent primary readings, their value for textual affiliation is diminished.

Statistically, XHev/Se 5 is much closer to  $\aleph$  than to the Samaritan Pentateuch. TABLE 2 presents the readings of XHev/Se 5 in relation to both  $\aleph$  and  $\mu$  in the three passages of the *tefillin*.

TABLE 2: *Unique Readings of XHev/Se 5 in Relation to  $\aleph$  and  $\mu$*

	Exod 13:1-16	Deut 6:4-9	Deut 11:13-21
Unique Readings	17	6	6
= $\aleph$ ; $\neq \mu$	18	5	12
= $\mu$ ; $\neq \aleph$	3	1	1
$\neq \mu$ ; $\neq \aleph$	3	0	2



## 6. XHev/SeEschatological Hymn

(PLATE XXXI)

THIS document consists of three leather fragments.<sup>1</sup> The three fragments clearly belong to the same work: the leather and script are identical in all, and the number of lines appears to be similar. Frg. 1, containing eight lines, is missing the first line, with the exception of a tiny mark remaining from the descender of a long letter such as a final *kap* or *nun*, but clearly preserves the right and lower margins. The right margin is especially wide (c.3.5 cm) and appears to be the beginning of the scroll (note the straight edge of the leather). Frg. 2 preserves the right margin, a tiny part of the lower margin, and shows no remains of letters above the first of the nine surviving lines. The blank space at the top of this fragment may represent the top margin. Frg. 3 has a lower margin, and contains the remains of nine lines. Both the similarity between the three fragments in the dimensions of the written area and the patterns of damage imply that these are three columns of a small scroll, of the kind dubbed 'portable scrolls' by S. Pfann.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, it is possible that the traces of ink in the right margin of frg. 2 adjacent to line 9 represent the broken ascender of the *lamed* at the end of frg. 1a.

Although this text was photographed on the same plate as the Seiyâl collection, one must be very wary of determining its provenance or date on this basis. Most of this collection appears to originate from Nahal Hever, though it is not impossible that items that appear on the Seiyâl plates were actually found at Qumran.<sup>3</sup>

### *Palaeography*

The script is a large semi-cursive with the letters showing an average body height of around 4 mm. A. Yardeni has noted (oral communication) that the script, especially *waw* and *yod*, shows an extremely personal style, which renders its dating very difficult. The open final *mem* in the words העלם (frg. 3 6) and להרישונים (frg. 1 8) points to an early dating, but the looped heads of *gimel* and *nun* and the base of *bet* extending

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<sup>1</sup> I would like to thank A. Yardeni for sharing her work with me. This commentary is based on a transcription of the text she prepared as part of her work on the Seiyâl collection, published in *DJD* XXVII, and I have benefitted from her comments on the script. Yardeni's transcription did not include reading marks, and these have been added at the discretion of the present author. A preliminary version of this edition was presented at the Fifth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature held at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem on 23 January 2000. Some of the suggestions of the participants have been incorporated, with due credit, into this edition. These suggestions came too late to change the title of the hymn which would better be called 'Petition for Reconstruction of the Temple'.

<sup>2</sup> See *DJD* XX, 6–7 and note 17. Pfann's views on the purposes of such scrolls are somewhat speculative.

<sup>3</sup> For example, 4Q157, a Job Targum published by Milik in *DJD* VI, 90, is to be found on PAM 42.198 together with Seiyâl texts, even though Milik seems to have known that it belonged to the Qumran materials. For the problem of the origins of the Seiyâl collection, see *DJD* XXVII, 1–6.

to the right would seem to indicate a Herodian date. For the question of a sectarian origin of the text (indirectly connected with the problem of its dating), see CONTENTS.

### *Orthography*

The following features are of note: the writing of [מסגבין] with a *samek* (frg. 1 3); the non-historical spelling of להרשונים and the non-syncope of the definite article after the prepositional prefix (frg. 1 8); the defective spelling of the *o* vowel in האחרנים (frg. 1 9), הגרלים (frg. 2 4) and העלים (frg. 3 6); and the writing of a final *e* vowel with an *alep* in תרוא (frg. 2 7); singular nouns bearing pronominal suffixes have an additional *yod* representing the stress-lengthened  $\bar{e}$  vowel: מסגבין (frg. 1 3), and perhaps בתיך (frg. 3 2). Note further the construct form בזובל (frg. 3 2). A non-biblical element in the language is the use of תקוניו to mean 'foundations' (frg. 3 9). The tetragrammaton is written as four small strokes (frg. 2 7), for which cf. 4Q248 (five strokes) as well as eight Qumran texts using four dots.<sup>4</sup>

### *Contents*

The fragmentary nature of this work and the lack of parallels make its reconstruction uncertain. Moreover, the genre and context of many of the so-called 'prayers' from Qumran are extremely uncertain.<sup>5</sup> However, through the judicious use of a concordance, it is possible to identify the sources from which the hymn's composer drew and accordingly try to glimpse his underlying intent.

The text appears to be a song of thanksgiving to God for the kindness (or mercy) that he has shown to a group of people, apparently identified as האחרנים. It is influenced by several such praises found in the Bible, most notably 2 Samuel 22/Psalm 18, Psalm 105, Nehemiah 9, and 1 Chronicles 29, which also include retellings of past events. Particularly important to its theological/historical outlook is the concept of God's remembering his covenant, based on the end of Leviticus 26. The praises consist of the following elements:

1. Opening formula — 1 Chr 29:13 (David's blessing).
2. Divine attributes — 2 Sam 22:2 (David's last words).
3. Unique relationship of Israel to God — Deut 33:29.
4. The founding of the covenant with the forefathers — Lev 26:46.
5. The keeping of a remnant — Lev 26:22.
6. The selection of Aaron — Ps 105:26.
7. The rebuilding of Jerusalem (the Temple?) — Ps 51:20.
8. The promise of kingship?
9. The teaching of the Torah at Sinai.
10. The rebuilding of the Temple.

<sup>4</sup> Oral communication by E. Tov.

<sup>5</sup> These problems have been succinctly expressed by E. Schuller in 'Prayer, Hymnic and Liturgical Texts from Qumran', in *The Community of the Renewed Covenant: The Notre Dame Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. by E. Ulrich and J. VanderKam (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994) 153–71.



Regardless of whether this text was written while the Second Temple was still standing or after its destruction, it would appear to fit into the genre of petitionary prayers. In these prayers, appeal is made to God's former mercies to Israel in order to justify and strengthen the current petition, in this case for the rebuilding of the Temple.<sup>6</sup>

The foundation of God's relationship with Israel, and hence for the repeated mercies, is the covenant with the forefathers. Although ברית is not preserved in this text, it appears to be underlying the historical outlook of the author. Central to his understanding of history is Lev 26:42-45:

וזכרתי את בריתי יעקוב ואף את בריתי יצחק ואף את בריתי אברהם אזכר והארץ אזכר  
והארץ תעזוב מהם ותרוץ את שבתתיה בהשמה מהם והם ירצו את עונם יען וביען במשפטי מאסו ואת חקתי געלה נפשם  
ואף גם זאת בהיותם בארץ איביהם לא מאסתים ולא געלתים לכלהם להפך בריתי אתם כי אני יהוה אלהיהם  
וזכרתי להם ברית ראשנים אשר הוצאתי אתם מארץ מצרים לעיני הגוים להיות להם לאלהים אני יהוה

The author regards himself as one of the אחרונים, one of the few saved for redemption, through whom God's promises are to be fulfilled. The tone of the song is optimistic.

The terms ראשונים and אחרונים are significant in the thought of the *yahad* of the Qumran texts, particularly in CD I 16 which states that one of the crimes of the counsel of traitors is to move the boundaries established by the ראשנים.<sup>7</sup> Further, it is stated in CD I 4-5: ובזכרו ברית ראשנים השאיר שאירית לישראל ולא נתנם לכלה: a passage clearly based on Lev 26:44-45. Also common in the sectarian texts are phrases such as דור אחרון (CD I 12; 1QpHab II 7; VII 2; 4Q273 1 1); compare Deut 29:21-24. However, it does not seem that these parallel usages are sufficient to point to a *yahad* origin for the text.

One problem in this work is the meaning of the exhortation to rebuild the Temple, found at the end. Since the date of the song is so uncertain, it is unclear whether its exhortation is to rebuild the Temple which still stands, or to restore it after its destruction. As noted above, the call to reestablish the foundations of the Temple is common in post-destruction literature. However, since the Temple may have been regarded as defiled, or at least inglorious, the call for its restoration need not necessarily indicate a post-70 CE date.

Mus. Inv. 889  
PAM 42.192

<sup>6</sup> See particularly the detailed study of E. Chazon, 'A Liturgical Document from Qumran and its Implications: "Words of the Luminaries" (4QDibHam)', (Ph.D. diss.; Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1991) passim.

<sup>7</sup> On this, see M. Kister, 'Some Aspects of Qumranic Halakhah', *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid 18-21 March 1991*, ed. by J. Treballe Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner (STDJ 11/2; Leiden: E. J. Brill/Madrid: Complutense, 1992) 574-6.



Frg. 1

]o[	1
]מודים א[נחנו לך על	2
]מסגבין[ ]	3
]נחסה בך[ ]	4
]o [ ] יתנו ולו נס	5
נפול גואלנו מעלם	6
]חרב גאותנו ו	7
]שובך להרישונים	8
]עם האחרנים ועל	9

*bottom margin*

#### NOTES ON READINGS

L. 2 על. Only the top right stroke of the *ayin* survives.

L. 3 ]מסגבין[. The remains of the *nun* appear to be quite high, but compare the word יתנו in line 4.

L. 6 נפול. Yardeni suggests the readings נפיל or נכיל. Of these, the former seems preferable, though the verb should probably be read as a *Qal* imperfect, rather than a *Hip'il*.

L. 6 מעלם. Little of the *ayin* survives, but it is assumed on the basis of the parallel from Isa 63:16. See COMMENTS.

#### TRANSLATION

1. ] [
2. [W]e [give thanks] unto you fo[r
3. [ ]o[ur] haven[
4. [ ]we shall seek refuge in [you
5. [ ] they shall give, and to him
6. we shall fall. Our saviour, from e[ternity
7. our sword triumphant, and [
8. your faithfulness to the first (generations) [
9. with the latter (generations), and for [

#### COMMENTS

L. 2 על לך ]מודים א[נחנו. The reconstruction is Yardeni's. The expression appears just once in the Bible in 1 Chr 29:13, which contains David's parting speech, preceding the appointment of Solomon as his successor and Zadok as the high priest. It is found further in the rabbinic *Shemoneh Esreh*.<sup>8</sup>

Ll. 3-4 ]מסגבין[ . . . ]נחסה בך[. These lines are based on 2 Sam 22:3 = Ps 18:3, once again regarded as being among the last words of David, culminating in the promise of eternal kingship to the house of

<sup>8</sup> It is already referred to in *t. Ber.* 1:8 by the abbreviated name מודים.

David. The spelling of [מסגבי] with a *samek* is not surprising in Qumran orthography.<sup>9</sup> The noun is almost certainly singular, with the *yod* representing an *e* vowel (Tiberian *šere*).<sup>10</sup>

L. 6 גואלנו מעלם שמך. Probably restore גואלנו מעלם שמך, on the basis of Isa 63:16 (for the defective orthography of מעלם compare frg. 3 6). It seems that this passage was very influential in the composition of the prayer. See frg. 3 2 and CONTENTS. גואל is very rare in Qumran texts, but is attested at least twice.<sup>11</sup>

L. 7 חרב גאותנו. The phraseology is based on Deut 33:29 עורך מגן ביהוה עם נושע ביהוה לך ואתה על במותימו תדרך. ואשר חרב גאותך ויכחשו איביך לך ואתה על במותימו תדרך. *Sipre Deuteronomy* 356 on this verse relates it to 2 Sam 22:3, from which the words in lines 2–3 are drawn. The image of God's sword, which is to be let loose at the end of days, is common in apocalyptic literature.<sup>12</sup>

L. 8 ] טובך להרשונים. Perhaps compare Isa 63:7 טוב לבית ישראל. The spelling רישונים is found in 4Q266 2 i 20 and elsewhere. The *he* of the definite article is sometimes not syncopated after a preposition in Late Biblical Hebrew. See, e.g., 2 Chr 10:7 להעם. For the significance of רישונים, see CONTENTS.

L. 9 האחרנים. The defective spelling appears also in 4Q273 1 1 ברור האחרן. For the term, see CONTENTS.

## Frg. 2

*top margin?*

עשית עמנו בכל ]◦	1
המקדמים ]◦◦ [◦נו ב]	2
באברהם אבינו ע]	3
ובק] [ינו הגדלים]	4
אשר לא כלנו בא]פו	5
אבות ותתן לנו ש]	6
תרוא כי "" צד]קנו	7
להר] [ת באהרן בחרת]	8
בע] [ח] [ח] [◦]	9

*bottom margin*

<sup>9</sup> Qimron, *HDSS*, §100.8.

<sup>10</sup> Qimron, *HDSS*, §100.33.

<sup>11</sup> E.g. in 4Q471a, published by E. Eshel and M. Kister, 'A Polemical Qumran Fragment', *JJS* 43 (1992) 277–81; see their comments on p. 279 regarding 4Q385 2 1 להם הברית.

<sup>12</sup> See D. Flusser, 'Apocalyptic Elements in the War Scroll', in *Jerusalem in the Second Temple Period: Abraham Schalit Memorial Volume*, ed. by A. Oppenheimer, U. Rappaport, M. Stern (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi/Ministry of Defence, 1980) 445–6 (Hebrew).



## Frg. 3

ות[ ]הו ברכ/דמ]	1
בוזבל בחיך ל]	2
ברצונך ויש]	3
וזרעו מל]א	4
שלום על[ ]הארץ ]	5
מ]לך העלם אשר] ]ה[	6
בסיני וילמד]נ]א	7
להעד מעון על]	8
יד עלתקוניו לה[ ]	9

bottom margin

## NOTES ON READINGS

L. 5 ] על[ ]הארץ. The small stroke after the *lamed* cannot be identified with certainty as any particular letter.

L. 6 מ]לך. Although only the top of the lamed remains, its reading is certain. The *kap* is less certain.

## TRANSLATION

1. [ ] [
2. in the majesty of Your house [
3. in Your pleasure, and [
4. and his progeny shall fi[ll
5. peace upon the land [ ] [
6. [Ki]ng of the World, who[ ] [
7. [ ] at Sinai, and he taught [u]s [
8. [ ]to erect the Abode on[
9. [ ] on its basis [

## COMMENTS

L. 2 ] בוזבל בחיך ל]. The construct form זובל instead of Tiberian זבול would appear to imply a pronunciation *z<sup>u</sup>bul*. This would be similar to the pronunciation of the *q<sup>e</sup>tol* forms such as סודום. Compare Qimron, *HDSS*, §200.24. בחיך is perhaps to be read *bē<sup>e</sup>kā*. Compare מסגבין] (frg. 12). The construct form ביה זבול is not attested in the Bible; rather we find זבול ביה. The closest parallel seems to be מזבל קדשך in Isa 63:15. An alternative suggestion is to maintain the plural reading and to regard בחים as referring to the Temple chambers. Compare 1 Chr 28:11 (A. Hurvitz, oral communication).

L. 3 ברצונך. This word appears three times in the Bible; the most likely source is Ps 51:20, referring to the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem and the restoration of temple service. But see also Ps 30:8 עז, ברצונך העמדתה להררי עז, in which the expression הררי עז may have been understood as a reference to the Temple. See frg. 3 8.

L. 4 וזרעו מלא. Probably restore on the basis of Gen 48:19 יהיה מלא הגוים.

L. 5 ]ו[ ]א[. שלום על הארץ. The reconstruction of this line is difficult. Perhaps compare Lev 26:6.

L. 6 מלך העלם. This appears to refer to God; see Ps 10:16. The combination there is יהוה מלך העלם ועד. The phrase מלך העלם is found in rabbinic benedictions. Compare perhaps Aramaic מלך כול עלמא (1QapGen X 10).

L. 7 בסני. Mention of the giving of the Torah at Sinai would appear to be out of place here, if this is really a historical account. Compare its position in Neh 9:13. It is possible that here the writer is talking of an eschatological Torah, to be restored at the end of days.

L. 8 ]על[. להעמיד מעון קדשו. God's dwelling (i.e. the Temple) is referred to as מעון קדשו in several biblical verses (Deut 26:15; Jer 25:30; Zech 2:17; Ps 68:6).

L. 9 על תקוני. The root תקן is found in Late Biblical Hebrew, but there it has the meaning of 'repair'. It appears that the meaning here is closer to its Aramaic usage, in which it is the semantic parallel of Hebrew כון, meaning 'to found', hence מכון, 'foundation'. For example, in *Tg. Onq.* Exod 15:17 יהוה כונו ידך מקדש יהוה is translated יהוה אתקנה ידך מקדשא. Syriac *matq<sup>e</sup>nā* translates Hebrew מכון 'fundamentum' in several verses (Ps 89:15, 97:2, 104:5, 2 Kgs 16:17).<sup>15</sup> A striking parallel is found in the *Musaf 'Amida* service for the three pilgrim festivals according to the Ashkenazi tradition: בנה ביתך כבתחלה וכוון מקדשך על מכונו והראנו בבנינו ושמחנו בתקונו.<sup>16</sup> The laying of the foundations of the Temple is a symbol for the restoration of the Temple itself. Compare Ezra 3:10-11;<sup>17</sup> and perhaps 5:11; 6:14.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>15</sup> C. Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum* (Göttingen, 1928) 832b.

<sup>16</sup> I am grateful to R. Goldstein who located this citation for me.

<sup>17</sup> These references are from M. E. Stone, *Fourth Ezra* (Minneapolis, 1990) 327. Cf. the comments on p. 335.

<sup>18</sup> The Aramaic term שכלל, usually interpreted as 'complete', also translates Hebrew יסד in the targums; see e.g. *Tg. Neb.* Josh 6:26.



D. NAHAL MISHMAR



## 2. 1Mish papList of Names and Account gr

(PLATE XXXII)

Previous discussion: B. Lifshitz, 'The Greek Documents from Naḥal Şeelim and Naḥal Mishmar', *IEJ* 11 (1961) 53–62, pl. 13D and pls. 23H–I; P. Benoit, 'Bulletin', *RB* 68 (1961) 466–7.

THIS papyrus was discovered by Expedition C in the 'Cave of the Treasure' in Naḥal Mishmar.<sup>1</sup> A comparison of pl. 13D and pls. 23H–I in *IEJ* 11 (1961) suggests that some of the fragments seen in pls. H–I were part of the Greek papyrus before it was unfolded and later on became detached from it. However, not all of the fragments in pl. XXXV can be accounted for in this way; perhaps some are 'the narrow strips with undecipherable traces of writing' mentioned by Lifshitz ('Greek Documents', 59). The largest fragment on the plates contains writing on both sides. Since the papyrus is now missing and cannot be examined, it seems reasonable to follow Lifshitz in calling the side written with the fibres '*recto*' and the side written against the fibres '*verso*'. The fragment measures 9.9 x 8.7 cm. Only the *recto* is transcribed below.

The papyrus bears no date, but like the single Greek papyrus from the 'Cave of Horror' in Naḥal Hever (8Hev 4) and the two Greek papyri from cave 34 in Naḥal Şe'elim (34Şe 4 and 5), its archaeological context assigns it with a great deal of probability to the period before or during the Bar Kokhba Revolt.<sup>2</sup> The other two papyri, a small fragment with Jewish script (1Mish 1) and scanty fragments of a legal document written in both Aramaic and Greek (1Mish 3), were found in the same cave.<sup>3</sup>

IAA 27353\* (*recto*), 27354\* (*verso*)

### *Recto*

1           ].θια Φείλωνος αδ[...φ[

2           η[...ει [traces]

<sup>1</sup> P. Bar-Adon, 'Expedition C', *IEJ* 11 (1961) 26–7.

<sup>2</sup> See P. Bar-Adon, *The Cave of the Treasure: The Finds from the Caves in Nahal Mishmar* (Jerusalem, 1980) 205–11.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Bar-Adon, *The Cave of the Treasure*, 205–7.

## NOTES ON READINGS

There are some traces of ink above the lines transcribed.

## TRANSLATION

1. [. . .] son of Philo bro[th]er (?)
- 2.

## COMMENTS

L. 1  $\alpha\delta\iota\phi$ . Lifshitz read ἀδελφός without any doubtful letters. There is too much space between the  $\alpha$  and the  $\delta$ , but a  $\phi$  can be seen at the very end of the line, where the papyrus breaks off. Thus one may restore ἀδ[ε]λφ[ός]. This recalls the list of names in 34Se 4 b iii. See COMMENTS ad loc.

L. 2 Lifshitz reads Ει[ο]υδ[α] ἀδελφ[ός] in this line.

*Verso*

The underlined letters in line 2 indicate quantities of *se'ah* (see 4Q350 and 34Se 5). The bottom part looks like a ledger: the left column is likely to have contained names of which we see the endings and the right column contained quantities of wheat (*se'ah* and *kab*) preceded by the symbol for  $\pi\rho\omicron\upsilon$  ( $\text{⚡}$ ), which can be seen in the second and third lines from the bottom. Thus this may well resemble 34Se 5.

E. NAHAL ŞE'ELİM





## 2-3. 34Se'elim: Introduction

(PLATES XXXIII-XXXIV)

Previous discussion: Y. Aharoni, 'Expedition B', *IEJ* 11 (1961) 11-24 + pls. 4-10.

THE documents published here were discovered in the course of organized excavations carried out by the Hebrew University, the Department of Antiquities, and the Israel Exploration Society. They thus differ from many of the so-called 'Se'elim' documents in that their provenance is certain. Final reports on these excavations were never published, so that one must rely on the preliminary reports for any information.

The documents were discovered in cave 34, the 'Cave of Scrolls'. Aharoni described their discovery:

The first fragments of parchment and papyri were found in a small pit in the middle of the cave near the entrance, where various other items, including a comb, wooden gaming counters, and two coins were also discovered. Beneath a vulture's nest were more fragments of papyri. The coins date to the time of Elagabalus (218-222 CE) and of Severus Alexander (222-235 CE); that is about 100 years after Bar Kokhba.



## 2. 34SeNumbers

(PLATE XXXIII)

Previous discussion: Y. Aharoni, 'Expedition B', *IEJ* 11 (1961) 3 + pl. 11A.

TWO fragments of leather have been preserved, apparently from the same scroll. Only one of the fragments contains any writing: the top lines of two columns, written in a bookhand, below a large upper margin. The last words of the top line of col. I may be read as לִבְנֵי לוי, while col. II begins with לְכָל נַפְשׁוֹ. It would appear that these words are drawn from Num 18:21 and Num 19:11 respectively. It is therefore likely that this was a Biblical scroll, though the paucity of words does not allow for any further comment. The large size of the top margin (5 cm) should be noted. The present location of these fragments is unknown. The nature of the unscribed small fragment is unclear.

IAA 190400





### 3. 34Şe papDeed ar

(PLATE XXXIV)

Previous discussion: Y. Aharoni, 'Expedition B', *IEJ* 11 (1961) 24.

THE TEXT consists of several fragments of a deed on papyrus, written along the fibres.<sup>1</sup> The extremely fragmentary nature of the material does not permit a certain identification of the deed's content. The language is Aramaic, and certain formulae in it are similar to those found in contemporary deeds from Naḥal Ḥever and Wadi Murabbaʿat. The cursive script provides an additional barrier to the interpretation of these texts. The order of the fragments presented here is arbitrary, and no reconstruction is attempted.

IAA 190392\*, 190393\* (frgs. 1, 3, 12)

#### Frg. 1

בעלמגדן] 1

אל צין 00 ה] 2

#### Frg. 2

ציתי די זערת] 1

מן רבת ע] 2

כסף זוזין שת]ין 3

עמך בכל זמן] 4

דנה לקבלדך] 5

] [ 6

<sup>1</sup> Thanks are due to A. Yardeni for her transcription.

## NOTES ON READINGS AND COMMENTS

L. 1 ]א/ביתי [. Only the tiniest traces of the first letter survive, and the proposed reading is based on the other surviving letters. The suggested reading may be translated 'my house' or 'there is', or, possibly (though unlikely), 'he brought/I shall bring'.

L. 1 זערת] . Apparently this is a perfect of root עזר, either 1st or 2nd masc./fem. or 3rd fem.

L. 2 ]מן רבת ע] . The place name that suggests itself is רבת עמון, previously unattested in the Judean Desert documents.

L. 3 ]כסף זוזין שת] . The final word may be reconstructed either as שת]ה, 'six' or שת]ין, 'sixty'.

L. 4 ]בכל זמן] . This is apparently to be reconstructed according to the formula attested in other documents from the Judean Desert, e.g. XHev/Se 8 7: חוזה כדי חוזה ]אחלה לך שטרה דנה ]בזמן די חוזה, 'And at (any) time that you say to me, I shall exchange for you this document as is fitting', and XHev/Se 9 10–11 חוזה כדי חוזה ]בנא רבת דנה ]מר לי אחלה] לך ש]חרא דנה ]אנא רבת כדי חוזה, 'And any time that you s[ay to me, I will exchange] for you [this ]d[ocument . . . ] . . . as is fitting'. The writer of the deed agrees to exchange it at any time. The precise nature of this exchange is unclear.<sup>2</sup>

L. 5 ]לקבלדך] . 'According to that'. A common word in deeds, it states that the writer agrees to act in accordance with all that is stated before (compare e.g. XHev/Se 8 7; XHev/Se 8a 13; XHev/Se 9 5, 10).

## TRANSLATION

1. ]there is/my house that [
2. ]from Rabbat [
3. ]six[ty (?)] silver *zuzin* [
4. ]with you. At any time[
5. ]this[ ]accordingly[
6. ] [

## Frg. 3

]אס]	1
]מן נ]	2

## Frg. 4

]א א]	1
] {○○○} ס]	2
]ליך על]	3

<sup>2</sup> See A. Yardeni's discussion in the INTRODUCTION TO THE ARAMAIC AND HEBREW DOCUMENTS, in *DyD* XXVII, 16. Further parallels to this formula are mentioned on p. 17 n. 22.

## NOTES ON READINGS

L. 2 The first three letters on the line have been erased.

Frg. 5

מרזי] 1

Frg. 6

כטע] 1

Frg. 7

ך מ] 1

Frg. 8

ה] 1

ע מ] 2

Frg. 9

זי] 1

כ] 2

מל] 3

Frg. 10

]oo[ 1

Frg. 11

ה[ 1

ג[ 2

Frg. 12

]ooo[ 1

י[ ג[ 2

## 4-5. 34Şe'elim: Introduction

(PLATES XXXIV-XXXV)

THE TWO Greek documents 34Şe 4 and 34Şe 5 found in cave 34 (the 'Cave of the Scrolls') in Naḥal Şe'elim lack a date and provenance. They were found together with a fragment of a phylactery, two fragments containing the text of Exodus 13 and a corner of a leather scroll.<sup>1</sup> The archaeological context strongly suggests that they belonged to Jewish refugees who hid in the cave during the Bar Kokhba revolt. It seems safe, therefore, to date both documents to the period before or during the Bar Kokhba revolt (see introductions to 8Ĥev 4 and 1Mish 2). For Greek papyri written by Jews and found in the Judaeen Desert, see H. M. Cotton, 'Introduction to the Greek Documentary Texts', in H. M. Cotton and A. Yardeni, *Aramaic, Hebrew and Greek Documentary Texts from Naḥal Ḥever and Other Sites with an Appendix Containing Alleged Qumran Texts (The Seiyâl Collection II)* (DJD XXVII; Oxford: Clarendon, 1997) 133-57.

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<sup>1</sup> Y. Aharoni, 'Expedition B', *IEJ* 11 (1961) 21-4.





## 4. 34Se papCensus List from Judaea or Arabia gr

(PLATES XXXIV-XXXV)

Previous discussion: B. Lifshitz, 'The Greek Documents from Naḥal Şeelim and Naḥal Mishmar', *IEJ* 11 (1961) 53-62; P. Benoit, 'Bulletin', *RB* 68 (1961) 466-7; J. Schwartz, 'Remarques sur les fragments grecs du désert de Juda', *RB* 69 (1962) 61-3.

34Se 4 CONSISTS of six fragments surviving from a large document.<sup>1</sup> The *verso* is blank. The extent of the loss cannot be established. The two largest fragments, frgs. a and b, may have constituted a continuous text with frg. b following frg. a, since it preserves a bottom margin. Frgs. c-f, written in the same hand, are likely to belong to the same papyrus, although the format of frgs. a + b is not apparent in them. Frg. f also preserves a bottom margin.

The document contained at least four columns, comprised of two sets of two columns, the left one of each pair being a list of persons and the right one a list of their respective ages. This structure is revealed in frg. a which preserves three columns, although the remains of the first column consist of only the ends of two names appearing in lines 8 and 9.<sup>2</sup> Cols. i and ii form a pair followed by col. iii which was paired presumably with the following column which has not survived. The alignment between cols. ii and iii is imperfect, which is easily explained by the fact that these columns were not meant to correspond to one another.

### *Contents*

There is no support for Lifshitz's speculation that this is a list of soldiers, a fraternity of warriors, who constituted the army of Bar Kokhba ('Greek Documents', 60-61).<sup>3</sup> Not only is there no apparent reason to associate the list with the Bar Kokhba revolt, but the idea of soldiers, as already pointed out by Benoit ('Bulletin', 467), seems to be excluded by the presence of people aged thirteen years on the one hand<sup>4</sup> and sixty-seven on the other.<sup>5</sup>

The official nature of the list is quite apparent, and is also implied by the fluent hand of the scribe. There are at least twenty-two names in cols. i and ii and a minimum of

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<sup>1</sup> The editor wishes to thank D. Hagedorn for his help with the interpretation of the document, and T. Ilan for help with the onomasticon.

<sup>2</sup> The dot of ink above line 8 may have belonged to a name in line 7 now completely lost.

<sup>3</sup> His conclusion is based on an erroneous interpretation of the term ἀδελφός; in the same vein, see idem, 'Papyrus grecs du désert de Juda', *Aegyptus* 42 (1962) 252ff.

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps even infants appeared if nothing stood before the β in frg. a ii 14 and the α and β in frg. b ii 5 and 7 respectively.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. frg. a ii 9.

twenty in col. iii. Together with the thirteen names appearing in frgs. c–f, the list must have contained the names and ages of at least fifty-five persons. The format of col. iii with a name and patronymic (Ιησους Αηου.[ ], frg. a iii 3; Ιησους Ιακκωβ[ου], frg. b iii 4) followed by another name or names which are indented by slightly over 1 cm (frgs. a iii 4–10; b iii 5) supplies a clue to the nature of the list. It seems to be a roster of households listing the name of the head of the household followed by those of the other members (i.e. sons). Only males appear in what is preserved of the document; it is therefore likely that the list was restricted to the male members of the household. Similar lists are known from Egypt. They were derived, or rather abstracted, from the declarations submitted every fourteen years at the κατ' οίκίαν ἀπογραφή,<sup>6</sup> and often must have been closely connected with the collection of the poll tax. Such a connection is strongly suggested by the present list which contains only males and their ages.<sup>7</sup> However, the exclusion of women and the age range (thirteen to sixty-seven) in the present list<sup>8</sup> cannot be reconciled either with what Ulpian tells us about the Syrian provinces in his time or with the data from Egypt. In the Syrian provinces, males from the age of fourteen, females from the age of twelve, and both till they reached the age of sixty-five, were liable for the poll tax.<sup>9</sup> In Egypt, women were exempt from the poll tax which males between the ages of fourteen and sixty-two had to pay.<sup>10</sup>

The date and place of writing of the present document are unknown. If, as is argued reasonably by the archaeologists, the documents found in cave 34 of Naḥal Şe'elim were hidden there by refugees of the Bar Kokhba revolt,<sup>11</sup> then the present document should be dated most probably to the first half of the second century CE. These refugees may have come from Judaea or Arabia.<sup>12</sup>

For Arabia, we may be in possession of some indirect information about tax liability from the discrepancy in the wording of two land declarations made at the census conducted for the first time in the new province in 127 CE.<sup>13</sup> It has been noticed that whereas Babatha merely declares what she owns: ἀπογράφομαι ἃ κέκτημαι (P.Yadin 16

<sup>6</sup> See M. Hombert and C. Préaux, *Recherches sur le recensement dans l'Égypte Romaine* (P.Bruxelles Inv. E. 7616) (Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava 5; Lugdunum Batavorum: E. J. Brill, 1952) 135–47. For the format, see e.g. BGU 493 (2nd cent. CE) col. iii.

<sup>7</sup> See e.g. P.Lond. 257–9—all parts of the same tax list containing the names of people liable for the poll tax. More comprehensive lists which contained other pieces of data may have had other purposes as well; see R. S. Bagnall and B. W. Frier, *The Demography of Roman Egypt* (Princeton, 1994) 27–8. Cf. the recently published P.Oxy. 984 in R. S. Bagnall, B. W. Frier, and I. C. Rutherford, *The Census Register P.Oxy. 984: The Reverse of Pindar's Paeans*, Papyrologica Bruxellensia 29 (1997).

<sup>8</sup> See, though, n. 3.

<sup>9</sup> Dig. 50.15.3: *Aetatem in censendo significare necesse est, quia quibusdam aetas tribuit, ne tributo onerentur: veluti in Syriis a quattuordecim annis masculi, a duodecim feminae usque ad sexagensimum quintum annum tributo capitis obligantur.*

<sup>10</sup> See S. L. Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian* (New York, 1938) 116ff.

<sup>11</sup> Y. Aharoni, 'Expedition B', *IEJ* 11 (1961) 21–4 and see introduction to the Greek papyri from Naḥal Şe'elim.

<sup>12</sup> Two archives from Arabia were found in Naḥal Hever: that of Babatha (P.Yadin 1–35) and that of Salome Komaise daughter of Levi (*DJD* XXVII, nos. 12, 60–65) as well as some unpublished Nabataean documents which may belong to the latter's archive.

<sup>13</sup> See H. M. Cotton, 'Η νέα ἐπαρχία Ἀραβία: The New Province of Arabia in the Papyri from the Judaeen Desert', *ZPE* 116 (1997) 204–8.



15), Sammouos son of Shim'on, Salome Komaise's first husband, declares his age first: ἀπογράφομαι ἑμαυτὸν ἑτῶν τριάκοντα (*DJD XXVII*, no. 62 a 13). Lewis already suggested 'that such a personal declaration was not required from Babatha because she was a woman',<sup>14</sup> and Lo Cascio took the suggestion further and inferred from the discrepancy that women were not subject to the *tributum capitis*.<sup>15</sup> However, it must be pointed out that no poll tax is mentioned in either declaration, and thus we have no clear evidence for the exemption of women from the poll tax in Arabia.<sup>16</sup> In addition, the land declarations from Arabia differ considerably from the Egyptian κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφή in being declarations of landed property rather than of persons.<sup>17</sup>

So far it has been assumed that no documents related to the census survived from Judaea. We know, however, that as its provincialization in 6 CE coincided with the taking of the census in Syria by the governor of that province, P. Sulpicius Quirinus,<sup>18</sup> the census quite naturally was extended to the newly annexed territory: παρῆν δὲ καὶ Κυρίμιος εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν προσθήκην τῆς Συρίας γενομένην ἀποτιμησόμενός τε αὐτῶν τὰς οὐσίας (*Ant.* 18.2).<sup>19</sup> In both Judaea and Syria something like the κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφή must have taken place, as can be inferred from Luke 2:3 ἐπορεύοντο πάντες ἀπογράφεσθαι, ἕκαστος εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πόλιν.<sup>20</sup> The present list, if it originated in Judaea, may well be derived from the declarations submitted at a later census. It seems likely that it was prepared by the authorities for the purpose of the poll tax.

A list of the sort we have here may give us an idea of how the Romans could have come by precise numbers for the casualties incurred by the Jews during the Bar Kokhba revolt. The number given by Cassius Dio (39.14.1) of 580,000 Jews killed in the war

<sup>14</sup> N. Lewis, 'A Jewish Landowner from the Province of Arabia', *Scripta Classica Israelica* 8–9 (1985–88) 136.

<sup>15</sup> E. Lo Cascio, 'Census provinciale, imposizione fiscale e amministrazioni cittadine nel Principato', in *Lokale Autonomie und römische Ordnungsmacht in den kaiserzeitlichen Provinzen vom 1.–3. Jh.*, ed. by W. Eck (Kolloquien des Historischen Kollegs; Munich, in press).

<sup>16</sup> Perhaps there was no need to mention it: the mere fact that someone was a thirty-year-old male was sufficient to make him automatically liable to the poll tax.

<sup>17</sup> However, their format conforms precisely to what is required by the *forma censualis* in Ulpian's time *Dig.* 50.15.4: *Forma censuali cavetur, ut agri sic in censum referantur. Nomen fundi cuiusque: et in qua civitate et in quo pago sit: et quos duos vicinos proximos habeat*; see further H. M. Cotton, 'Census Declarations in the Roman Empire: Land Declarations from Arabia and the Egyptian κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφή' (in press).

<sup>18</sup> Cf. *ILS* 2683: *Q. Aemilius Q. f. Pal. Secundus [in] castris divi Aug. s[ub] P. Sulpi[c]io Quirinio le[gato] C[a]esaris Syriae honoribus decoratus, pr[a]efect. cohort. Aug. I, pr[a]efect. cohort. II classicae; idem iussu Quirini censum egi Apamenae civitatis millium homin. civium CXVII . . .* See L. Boffo, *Iscrizioni greche e latine per lo studio della Bibbia* (Brescia 1994) no. 23, pp. 182–203.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. *Ant.* 17.355: τῆς δ' Ἀρχελάου χώρας ὑποτελοῦς προσνεμηθείσης τῇ Σύρων, πέμπεται Κυρίμιος ὑπὸ Καίσαρος, ἀνὴρ ὑπατικὸς, ἀποτιμησόμενος τὰ ἐν Συρίᾳ καὶ τοῦ Ἀρχελάου ἀποδωσόμενος οἶκον; see H. M. Cotton, 'H νέα ἐπαρχία Ἀραβία', 206ff., and eadem, 'Some Aspects of the Roman Administration of Judaea/Syria-Palaestina with Special Emphasis on the Documents from the Judaeian Desert', in *Lokale Autonomie*, who denies that the provincial census immediately followed annexation of a territory.

<sup>20</sup> It is echoed, as has often been pointed out, in C. Vibius Maximus' edict of 104 CE calling on people to return home after the census has been declared. *W.Chr.* 202 (= *P.Lond.* III 904); see B. Palme, 'Die Ägyptische κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφή und LK 2,1-5', *Protokolle zur Bibel* 2 (1993) 1–24; idem, 'Neues zum Ägyptischen Provinzialzensus', *Protokolle zur Bibel* 3 (1994) 1–7; Rosen ('Jesu Geburtsdatum. Der Census des Quirinus und eine jüdische Steuererklärung aus dem Jahr 127 nC', *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 38 [1995] 5–15) fails to point out the discrepancy between the census and the κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφή.

has often been questioned as exaggerated.<sup>21</sup> It should not have been: the Romans could easily have compared the data summarized in the census returns from before and after the revolt by consulting such lists.<sup>22</sup>

### *Measurements*

TABLE 1: *Measurements of Transcribed Fragments (in cm)*

Frg.	Width	Height
a	12.4	8.8
b	8	6.2
c	3	1.8
d	1.6	4
e	2	2.5
f	4.5	3.6

Mus. Inv. 226 (frgs. a, c–d, f), 229 (frgs. b, e)  
IAA 190384\*, 508026\*

### Frg. a

	Col. i	Col. ii	Col. iii
1		[ἐτῶν] κε	
2		[ἐτ]ῶν ιγ	.[.....].
3		[ἐτ]ῶν ιθ	Ιησους Αηου.
4		[ἐτῶ]ν μα	[.....]νφρ..
5		[     ]	Ιωσηπος [
6		[     ]	Ιησους αλ[

<sup>21</sup> E.g. P. Schäfer, *Der Bar Kokhba-Aufstand* (Tübingen, 1981) 131ff.

<sup>22</sup> See in detail, W. Eck, 'Der Bar Kokhba Aufstand, der kaiserliche Fiscus und die Veteranenversorgung', *Scripta Classica Israelica* 19 (2000, in press).



7	<i>trace of ink</i> [ ]		Ιωσηπος ..[
8	]υ	ἐτῶν ξα	Ανεινας .[
9	]υοc	ἐτῶν ξζ	Ελληλος αλ[
10	[ ]		Γάιος α[
11	[ ]		Ce[.]oc Cειμα[
12		[ἐτῶν] κβ	A[
13		[ἐτῶν] λc	K[
14		[ἐτῶν ]β	

## NOTES ON READINGS

## Col. i

L. 7 The trace of ink belongs to a patronym: both the name and the patronym in this line, to judge by the location of the trace of ink, were longer than the names which stood in lines 8 and 9.

L. 9 ]υοc. These are the last three letters of a patronym; [Cιμω]υοc could be restored with a great deal of probability, as suggested in the TRANSLATION.

## TRANSLATION

Col. i	Col. ii	Col. iii
1.	[age] 25	
2.	[ag]e 13	.[....]..[
3.	[ag]e 19	Yeshu'a son of Levi
4.	[ag]e 41	[...]nor [ son]
5.	[age]	Yosepos [another son]
6.	[age]	Yeshu'a an[other son]
7. <i>trace</i>	[age]	Yosepos [another son]
8. son of [ o]s	age 61	Aneinas [another son]
9. son of [Shim <sup>c</sup> ]on (?)	age 67	Ellelos an[other son]
10.	[ ]	Gaius a[nother son]
11.	[ ]	Se..os son of Seima[
12.	[age] 22	A[
13.	[age] 36	K[
14.	[age] [?]2	

## COMMENTS

L. 3 Ληου[. For the Greek transliteration of the name Levi, see *DJD* XXVII, 162.

L. 4 (and frg. b 5) υῖός should be restored after the name if the assumption is correct that the indented lines contained names of other members of the household whose head is mentioned in line 1, i.e. sons; in contrast to brothers who are named in unindented lines (frg. b. 7-8), i.e. unlike sons, they constitute heads of households themselves. Nevertheless, the restoration is made only in the TRANSLATION.

Ll. 5-10 ἄλλος υῖός should be restored after the name in each of these indented lines even when traces of ἄλλος cannot be read in the text. Again, the restoration appears only in the TRANSLATION.

L. 8 Ανεινας. This is a transliteration of the name אַנַּיָּן; cf. Mur 89 20: διὰ Ανεινας, and see COMMENTS ad loc. (*DJD* II, 217). Ανεινας is attested in L. Y. Rahmani, *A Catalogue of Jewish Ossuaries in the Collections of the State of Israel* (Jerusalem, 1994) no. 475; see also Ανινα (genitive) in *CPI* III no. 504 line 1.

L. 9 Ελληλος. The transliteration of the name ܠܠܗ (see Mur 24 B 6, E 4 etc.); cf. Ελληλος Κυρηναί[ος] in Mur 90 II 1 and in Y. Yadin and J. Naveh, *Masada I: The Aramaic and Hebrew Ostraca and Jar Inscriptions* (Jerusalem, 1989) no. 473.

L. 10 Γάιος. 'Of Gaius' in Greek letters is found on an ossuary from Jerusalem (Ramat Eshkol); cf. Rahmani, *Ossuaries*, no. 404, and see his comments on p. 168. For Latin *praenomina* borne by Jews, see H. M. Cotton and J. Geiger, *Masada II: The Latin and Greek Documents* (Jerusalem, 1989) no. 788. The Latin *praenomen* scarcely implies the possession of Roman citizenship.

L. 11 Σειμα[. Cf. frg. c 3: Σειμαί[ο]ν]. The name does not seem to be attested. B. Lifshitz ('The Greek Documents', 58) suggested 'a Greek transliteration of the name Shema' (שמע). An ossuary from Mt. Scopus, Jerusalem, reads שׁימִי, 'Shimi' (Rahmani, *Ossuaries*, no. 570), which Rahmani takes to be 'a contraction of שׁמַמַּי' (Shammai). For other suggestions for the Hebrew equivalent of Σειμαίος, see H. Lapin, 'Palm Fronds and Citrons: Notes on Two Letters from Bar Kosiba's Administration', *HUCA* 64 (1993) 115-6, n. 13.

## Frg. b

	Col. ii	Col. iii
1	[     ].	[     ].ος Σεμων[ος
2	[έτῶ]ν λς	Ζαχχαιος Ιωσηπ[ου
3	[έτῶν] ξα	Ανανος Ανανου [
4	[     ].	Ιησους Ιακκωβ[ου
5	[     ]α	Μιθδαιος .[
6	[     ]	Ιωσηπος Θαδδαι[ο]ν [
7	[έτ]ῶν .β	Ελιεζρος αδελφός[
8	[έτῶ]ν μδ	Ιακειμος ἄλλος αδ[ελφ

*bottom margin*

## TRANSLATION

Col. ii	Col. iii
1. [ ]	]os son of Simon
2. [ag]e 36	Zacchaios son of Yosep[os
3. [age] 61	Ananos son of Ananos [
4. [ ]	Yeshu'fa son of Jacob
5. [ ] [?]1	Middaios [son]
6.	Yosepos son of Thaddaios
7. [a]ge ?2	Eliezer, his brother
8. [ag]e 44	Yakimos, another bro[ther]

## COMMENTS

L. 2 Ζαχχαίος. On the name Ζαχχαίος, זכאי, see Lifshitz, 'Greek Documents', 58.

L. 3 Ανανος. This is likely to be a transliteration of אנה. [A]ννανος, one of Bar Kokhba's men, is the writer of a fragment of a Greek letter found in Naḥal Ḥever (P.Yadin 52). For a preliminary publication see B. Lifshitz, 'Papyrus grecs du désert de Juda', *Aegyptus* 42 (1962) 248–9.

L. 5 Μιδδαίος. The name is unattested.

L. 6 Θαδδαί[ο]υ. This is a transliteration of the name תדי; cf. אלתער בן תדי in *Mekhilta d'R. Ishmael*, 119, 2nd ed., ed. by Horovitz and Rabin (Jerusalem, 1960) and תדי in P. B. Bagatti and J. T. Milik, *Gli scavi del 'Dominus Flevit', Vol. I: La necropoli del periodo Romano* (Jerusalem, 1958) p. 74, no. 3. A witness, Θαδδαίος son of Θαδδαίος, signs in Greek in four documents of the Babatha archive (P.Yadin 14 38, 47; 15 43; 20 50; 23 29).

Ll. 7–8 For the structure of the list, i.e. ἀδελφός followed by ἄλλος ἀδελφός, see P.Harris I72 (a census list from 1 or 2 CE) lines 8–11:

Ἄπολλω(ς)	ἄλλο(ς)	Ἑρακλή(ου)	μη(τρὸς)	Βερουτος	(ἐτῶν)	μ
Μυρθᾶς		ἀδελφός	μη(τρὸς)	τῆς αὐτῆς	(ἐτῶν)	λβ
Ἑρακλής		ἄλλο(ς) ἀδελφ(ὸς)	μη(τρὸς)	τῆς αὐτῆς	(ἐτῶν)	κς
Νεμίωυ		ἄλλο(ς) ἀδελφ(ὸς)	μη(τρὸς)	τῆς αὐτῆς	(ἐτῶν)	κδ

Schwartz<sup>23</sup> restored in line 7 (his line 19) ἀδελφόπ(αις)<sup>24</sup> and suggested (ibid. 62–3) that both Eliezer and Yakeimos are nephews of Yosepos son of Thaddaios of line 6 (his line 18), but his reasoning is based on a misunderstanding of the nature of this list.

L. 8 Ιακειμος. This is a transliteration of the name יקימ; cf. Mur 74 I 6.

## Frg. c

1	]·[
2	]Ιουδας .ρ[
3	]Αλεξαιος Cειμαιο[υ
4	]ο[.]...c .[

<sup>23</sup> J. Schwartz, 'Remarques sur les fragments grecs du désert de Juda', *RB* 69 (1962) 62.

<sup>24</sup> Only a dot of ink is left of his presumed π.



## TRANSLATION

1. ] . [
2. [brot]her

## Frg. f

- 1           ]           *vacat*   .a[
- 2           ].ocuroc   όλόκληροc   ..[
- 3           ]υ           *vacat*   .[

## TRANSLATION

1. ]a[
2. ].osuroc whole[
3. ]υ *vacat* .[

## COMMENTS

L. 2 ].ocuroc. No noun or name suggests itself.

L. 2 όλόκληροc (cf. frg. d 4: [όλόκ]ληρο[c]). It is very difficult to see what the adjective 'whole', 'complete', 'healthy' is doing here (and in frg. d). It is possible, of course, that frgs. d and f, although parts of the same papyrus, did not contain the same type of lists as those appearing on frgs. a, b, and c.





## 5. 34Se papAccount gr

(PLATE XXXV)

Previous discussion: B. Lifshitz, 'The Greek Documents from Naḥal Şeelim and Naḥal Mishmar', *IEJ* 11 (1961) 53–62; P. Benoit, 'Bulletin', *RB* 68 (1961) 466–7; J. Schwartz, 'Remarques sur les fragments grecs du désert de Juda', *RB* 69 (1962) 61–3.

THIS Greek papyrus fragment measures 5 x 4.6 cm. Some ink traces appear in the top right corner followed by an empty space, perhaps forming the heading for the account which follows. Of the five lines of the right corner of a ledger only the first three are legible. Only traces are preserved of the last two lines. The account is composed of two columns: one of names, of which only the patronyms remain,<sup>1</sup> and the other of quantities of wheat (*seʿah* and *kab*) preceded by the symbol for πυροῦ **✚**; the quantities for *seʿah* are underlined whereas the symbols for *kab* (one-sixth of a *seʿah*) have the symbol  $\wedge$  underneath (see line 2). This system of notation was first observed by P. Benoit in Mur **89–107**, although there the *kab* is preceded by κ (e.g. Mur **94**); cf. *DJD* II, 213–14, 1Mish **2**, and 4Q350.

Mus. Inv. 226

IAA 190391, 508030\*

1			<i>traces</i>
2	]υοc	<b>✚</b>	<u>κc</u> δ ^
3	]ειδου	<b>✚</b>	<u>λε</u>
4	]εcα	[ <b>✚</b> ]	ζ
5			<i>traces</i>
6			<i>traces</i>

<sup>1</sup> [ ]εcα in line 4 could be a genitive form of a Semitic name: e.g. in the Babatha Archive, Ιουδαc (nominative) and Ιουδα (genitive) are found in P.Yadin **19** 11 and 23 respectively; P.Yadin **15** 32: δι' ἐπιτρόπου μου Ιουδα.

## TRANSLATION

1.			<i>traces</i>
2.	]son of Shim'on?	of wheat	26 <i>se'ah</i> and 4 <i>kab</i>
3.	]son of [ ] <i>eidos/eidas</i>	of wheat	15 <i>se'ah</i>
4.	]esa	[of wheat]	7 <i>se'ah</i>
5.			<i>traces</i>
6.			<i>traces</i>

F. UNKNOWN PROVENANCE





## 1. XJoshua

(PLATE XXXVI)

THIS manuscript of Joshua, purchased in 1998,<sup>1</sup> probably derives from Qumran cave 4. However, as this cannot be proved, it is designated XJoshua. The manuscript represents the bottom of the first two columns of a scroll of Joshua (Josh 1:9-12 and 2:4-5) without deviations from  $\mathfrak{M}$  except for two paragraph indications. The palaeographic dating of the manuscript was confirmed by carbon-14 analysis (see below).

### *Physical Description*

The manuscript consists of two leather fragments. The smaller one is uninscribed and was originally attached to the left of the larger fragment in the position in which it now appears in the photograph.<sup>2</sup> A loosely attached piece appears at the bottom right of the large fragment. It was anchored in place with cellophane tape probably in the last decade, as the tape has not yellowed like those on the back of fragments in the Rockefeller Museum.<sup>3</sup>

Both fragments are brown and the numerous abraded sections are beige. The top section is a darker brown. The edges are marred by small lacunae which are either worm-holes or results of decay. In the bottom margin there are numerous round worm-holes. The leather is severely abraded at the bottom right, in the middle of col. I, and the middle of the beginning of col. II. The leather is about 1 mm thick at the bottom of col. I. The professionally prepared leather is slightly rough and opaque.

Faint traces of vertical dry ruling are clearly visible at the bottom right of col. I. Magnification and lighting reveal a faint vertical line, especially near the bottom of both columns. There are only faint remains of horizontal ruling, possibly because the scribe who prepared the manuscript for copying endeavoured to make the lines unobtrusive.

### *Columns and Measurements*

The preserved portion of the blank space at the beginning of the scroll measures 6.7 cm, including the attached piece at the bottom right.<sup>4</sup> The measurement of the top margin is

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<sup>1</sup> The manuscript, now named Schøyen MS 2713, was purchased by M. Schøyen to whom the author is grateful.

<sup>2</sup> The script became legible thanks to the scientific work by K. Knox, R. Johnston, and R. Easton at Xerox and Rochester Institute of Technology. I am indebted to their expert digital analysis and computer enhancement.

<sup>3</sup> I am appreciative of the professional assistance received from the Rockefeller Museum and the Israel Department of Antiquities.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. uninscribed areas at the beginnings of the following scrolls: 1QM (9.7 cm); 4QGen<sup>b</sup> (at least 8.9 cm); 4QD<sup>a</sup> (4Q266; 4 cm); Mur Isa (Mur 3; 10.2 cm). I am grateful to E. Tov for this information.

unknown. The lower margin measures *c.*4 cm. The intercolumnar space between cols. I and II is *c.*1.5 cm.

Col. I is 8 cm wide, evidenced by the complete line 8. In col. I, the line-spacing is *c.*11 mm between lines 2 and 4, 5–6 mm between lines 4 and 5, 4–7 mm between lines 5, 6, 7, and 8, and 4–6 mm between lines 8 and 9. In col. II lines 7 and 8 are separated by 6–7 mm, and lines 8 and 9 by 5–6 mm.

### *Palaeography and Dating*

Letter	Col. and Line(s)	Height (mm)	Width (mm)
א	I 1, 4, 7, 8 [ <i>ter</i> ], 9; II 8	2.5–3	2–2.5
ב	I 7, 9	2	2.5–3 at base
ג	I 9	2.5	2
ד	I 6, 9	2	2–2.5
ה	I 5, 7, 8 [ <i>quater</i> ]; II 8	2–3	2.5–3.5
ו	I 5, 6, 7, 8, 9; II 9	2–2.5	1
ז	I 1, 5, 6, 7, 8	1–2	1–1.5
ח	I 5, 6, 8	2–2.5	2
ט	I 2	3	2
י	I 9	3.5–5	1.5–2.5
יא	I 8	3	2
יב	I 5 [ <i>bis</i> ], 8; II 8	2.5	1
יג	I 7	4	2
יד	I 8	3	2.5
טו	I 7 [ <i>bis</i> ], 8, 9	2–3	2–2.5
טז	I 8; II 7, 8	2–3	3
יז	I 1, 7 [ <i>bis</i> ]	2	2.5 at base

In almost every respect the handwriting is similar to either 4QDeut<sup>i</sup> (*c.*50 CE) or 4QPs<sup>b</sup> (*c.*50 to 68 CE). Rarely, some letters are reminiscent of the post-Herodian biblical hand. The letters that distinguish the script and its date are *ʾalep*, *he*, *kap*, final *šade*, *reš*, and *šin*.

The left foot of the *ʾalep* is turned inward and the top right shoulder is adorned with a serif. The ornamental serif on the *ʾalep* seems to appear for the first time in the beginning of the first century CE with the Herodian formal bookhand.<sup>5</sup> The scribe makes

<sup>5</sup> See F. M. Cross, 'Palaeography and the Dead Sea Scrolls', in *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment*, vol. 1, ed. by P. W. Flint and J. C. VanderKam (Leiden/Boston: E. J. Brill, 1998) 379–402 + pl. 10 Continued.

this letter with three strokes, moving from right to left.<sup>6</sup> Having fashioned a letter, the scribe moves to his left. The first stroke of this letter begins with the serif and curls downward; a second stroke begins at the top left and descends past the first stroke to the baseline. The final stroke begins where the second began and moves to the left in a slight diagonal and then curls with a foot to the right and upward. The closest analogy to this elegant letter is 4QPs<sup>b</sup> (50–68 CE).

*He* appears to be made of three strokes. The first begins on the left and moves slightly upward and then extends on a horizontal line to the right. From it two vertical, almost parallel strokes complete the letter. For the upward part of the first stroke, cf. 4QNum<sup>b</sup> (c.30 BCE–20 CE).<sup>7</sup>

The first stroke of *kap* begins at the top left and curves downward to a lower right shoulder and then plunges horizontally to the baseline. The second stroke begins at this point and slopes downward a little past the point at which the letter began. Cf. 4QPs<sup>b</sup>.

Final *sade* begins at the top right and moves downward at about a forty-five degree angle. A second stroke descends from the top left at approximately a fifteen-degree angle right of the vertical. This final form has an elongated leg and serifs seem to adorn each shoulder. The closest analogies seem to be 4QDeut<sup>i</sup> and 4QPs<sup>b</sup>. The latter, in contrast to the former, has a straight foot, and is reminiscent of XHev/Se 4 (c.75–100 CE).

*Reš* has an ornamental serif and is penned in two strokes. The scribe begins with a vertical line that slopes slightly to the right. Then he proceeds to the upper left, moving downward to make the serif, and then horizontally to the vertical stroke. The closest analogy to this form seems to be 4QDeut<sup>i</sup>.

*Šin* is formed in two different ways. In col. I, the scribe used three strokes. The first may have begun at the top right with a slight movement at a forty-five degree angle downward to the right and then a ninety degree turn to move diagonally to the left. The second stroke begins, perhaps, with a forty-five degree angle upward and then a ninety degree angle downward stroke to the left so as to be almost parallel to the one made earlier. The third stroke begins on the far left with a line that ascends at about forty-five degrees and then descends at about a ninety-degree angle to meet the other two strokes. Thus, the *šin* is adorned with three serifs. In col. II, the letter also has three strokes. The first begins with an approximately ten-degree descending stroke and then a ninety degree turn to the left and downward to the baseline. The second stroke begins upward to its left with a similar ten-degree downward stroke to the right and then a ninety-degree descending stroke that is nearly parallel to the first. The third stroke is not well preserved, but it seems to be a seventy-degree descending stroke that meets the other two and ends on the baseline. Two serifs can be seen; a third may be chipped off. There is no exact form of this *šin* elsewhere. The serif to the far left seems to be unique, but the other two serifs and the two following diagonal lines downward are evident also in 4QDeut<sup>i</sup>, 4QPs<sup>b</sup>, and XHev/Se 4.

The scribe does not clearly distinguish between *waw* and *yod*. The length of these letters is similar and both have a triangular head. Note, for example, the tetragrammaton in col. I 8.

<sup>6</sup> See the illustrations in A. Yardeni, *The Book of Hebrew Script* (Jerusalem: Carta, 1997) esp. 135, 153.

<sup>7</sup> See Cross, 'Palaeography and the Dead Sea Scrolls', pl. 10 Continued.

The handwriting is an example of the late Herodian formal bookhand (40 BCE–68 CE, most likely near the end of the range). This dating is supported by carbon-14 analysis.<sup>8</sup> The letters are made with clear, confident, bold strokes. There are no visible errors or corrections.

Inv. No./Photograph: Schøyen MS 2713

Col. I<sup>9</sup> Josh 1:9-12

	הלו <sup>9</sup> א צויתך חוק ואמך]	1	(19)
	עמך יהוה] אלהיך]	2	(20)
	] <i>vacat</i>	3	(21)
11	העם לאמר ] <sup>10</sup> וניצו יהושע את ]	4	(22)
	בקרוב המנהג] לאמר] הכינו	5	(23)
	לכם צידה] כי בעוד שלשת ימים אתם]	6	(24)
	עבריתם את הירדן הזה לבוא לרשת את	7	(25)
	הארץ אשר יהוה אלהיכם נתן לכם לרשתה	8	(26)
	ולראובני ולגדני ולהצ' שבט המנשה <sup>12</sup> <i>vac</i>	9	(27)

*bottom margin*

#### NOTES ON READINGS

L. 1 The remains of the letters in line 1 are very faint.

<sup>8</sup> Date no.	AA-34035
Sample no.	Parchment fragment, 14.1 mg
Uncalibrated Radiocarbon Age:	2,020 +/- 45 years BP
Calibrated Age Ranges:	86 BC–49 CE (1σ) 165 BC–76 CE (2σ)
Probability distribution of 2σ range:	160–129 BCE 5% 118 BC–73 CE 95%

The fragment, cut before witnesses at the extreme bottom right of the fragment (22 June 1999), was analyzed by the NSF-Arizona AMS Facility, University of Arizona, Tucson.

<sup>9</sup> The numbers in parenthesis refer to the reconstructed line numbers in the column.



## COMMENTS

The empty line 3 between verses 9 and 10<sup>10</sup> is paralleled by codex L<sup>11</sup> and by an open space in codex A.<sup>12</sup>

The indentation in line 9 before verse 12 is paralleled by codex L and by an open space in codex A.

Col. II Josh 2:4-5

אֵת שְׁנֵי 7 (25)

5

הָאֲנָשִׁים] 8 (26)

[לִסְגוֹר] 9 (27)

[bottom] margin

### Relation to 4QJosh<sup>b</sup>

Both XJosh and 4QJosh<sup>b13</sup> preserve portions of Joshua 2. Both manuscripts have only faint remains of vertical dry ruling and frgs. 1–3 of 4QJosh<sup>b</sup> appear similar to XJosh, both in colour and texture. However, the handwriting of XJosh, a comparison to the other copies of Joshua found in cave 4, and the reconstruction of the first three columns of XJosh (see below) suggest that XJosh is not to be assigned to either 4QJosh<sup>a</sup> or 4QJosh<sup>b</sup>.

XJoshua is penned by a more experienced scribe than either of the other two Qumran texts of Joshua. Compare, for example, the elegant *ʿalep* in col. I 8 אֲשֶׁר (a left foot that is turned to the right and a right top with an ornamental serif) with the inelegant *ʿalep* in 4QJosh<sup>b</sup> 2 1 אֲשֶׁר which has no foot and has only a simple right stroke. The *lamed* of 4QJosh<sup>b</sup> has a rounded left top, while in XJosh it has a triangular top. The *š*in of 4QJosh<sup>b</sup> is penned with a simple horizontal left stroke, a right arm descending to meet that stroke, and a small diagonal stroke, while in XJosh it is ornamented with three serifs.

<sup>10</sup> For speculative reflections on 'Leerzeilen' in 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>, see O. H. Steck, *Die erste Jesajarolle von Qumran (1QIsa<sup>a</sup>)*, 2 vols. (Stuttgarter Bibelstudien 173/1, 173/2; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1998).

<sup>11</sup> See D. N. Freedman, A. B. Beck et al., eds., *The Leningrad Codex: A Facsimile Edition* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1998) 254.

<sup>12</sup> See M. H. Goshen-Gottstein, ed., *The Aleppo Codex* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1976) יב.

<sup>13</sup> See E. Tov, '4QJosh<sup>b</sup>', in *Qumran Cave 4: IX Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Kings*, ed. by E. Ulrich et al. (DJD XIV; Oxford: Clarendon, 1995) 153–60, pl. XXXV.



XJosh is in a late formal Herodian bookhand, while 4QJosh<sup>b</sup> is in a late Hasmonaean script dating from *c.*50 BCE.<sup>14</sup>

*Reconstruction of Cols. I–III in Comparison with 4QJosh<sup>b</sup>*

Beyond the palaeographical analysis, the reconstruction of cols. I–III on the basis of their two preserved bottom margins indicates that XJosh cannot have derived from the same manuscript as 4QJosh<sup>b</sup>.

Col. I Josh 1:1-12a

[top margin]

[ויהי אחרי מות משה עבד יהוה ויאמר יהוה]	1
[אל יהושע בן נון משרת משה לאמר <sup>2</sup> משה]	2
[עבדי מת ועתה קום עבר את הירדן הזה]	3
[אתה וכל העם הזה אל הארץ אשר אנכי נתן]	4
[להם לבני ישראל <sup>3</sup> כל מקום אשר תדרך כף רגלכם]	5
[בו לכם נתתיו כאשר דברתי אל משה]	6
[ <sup>4</sup> מהמדבר והלבנון הזה ועד הנהר הגדול נהר]	7
[פרת כל ארץ החתים ועד הים הגדול מבוא]	8
[השמש יהיה גבולכם <sup>5</sup> לא יתיצב איש לפניך]	9
[כל ימי חיך כאשר הייתי עם משה אהיה]	10
[עמך לא ארפך ולא אעזבך <sup>6</sup> חזק ואמץ כי אתה]	11
[תנחיל את העם הזה את הארץ אשר נשבעתי]	12
[לאבותם לתת להם <sup>7</sup> חזק ואמץ מאד לשמר]	13
[לעשות ככל התורה אשר צוך משה עבדי אל]	14
[תסור ממנו ימין ושמאול למען תשכיל בכל]	15
[אשר תלך <sup>8</sup> לא ימוש ספר התורה הזה מפידך]	16
[והגית בו יומם ולילה למען תשמר לעשות]	17

<sup>14</sup> See the dating by F. M. Cross quoted in *DyD* XIV, 153.

[ככל הכתוב בו כי אז תצליח את דרכך ואז]	18
[תשכיל <sup>9</sup> הלוא צויתוך ח'זק ואמ'ן אל תערץ ואל]	19
[תחת כי עמ'ך יהוה] א[ל]ה'ך] בכל אשר תלך]	20
<i>vacat</i>	21
<sup>10</sup> ו[י]צו [יהושע] את [שטרי העם] ל[אמר <sup>11</sup> עברו]	22
[בק]ר'ב [המ]חנה] וצוו את העם לא[מ'ר] ה'כינו	23
[ל]כ'ם צ[ידה] כי ב'עוד ש[לשת ימים א]ת[ם]	24
עבר[ים א]ת הירדן הזה [לב]וא ל[ר]שת את	25
הארץ אשר יהוה אלהי[כ]ם נת[ן] לכם לרשתה	26
<sup>12</sup> ולראוב[נ]י ולגד[י] ולהצ'י שבט המנשה <i>vac</i>	27
<i>bottom margin</i>	

## Col. II Josh 1:12b–2:5a

[top margin]

[אמר יהושע לאמר <sup>13</sup> זכור את הדבר אשר]	1
[צוה אתכם משה עבד יהוה לאמר יהוה]	2
[אלהיכם מניח לכם ונתן לכם את הארץ]	3
[הזאת <sup>14</sup> נשיכם טפכם ומקניכם ישבו בארץ]	4
[אשר נתן לכם משה בעבר הירדן ואתם]	5
[תעברו חמשים לפני אחיכם כל גבורי החיל]	6
[ועזרתם אותם <sup>15</sup> עד אשר יניח יהוה לאחיכם ככם]	7
[וירשו גם המה את הארץ אשר יהוה אלהיכם]	8
[נתן להם ושבתם לארץ ירשתכם וירשתם]	9
[אותה אשר נתן לכם משה עבד יהוה בעבר]	10
[הירדן מזרח השמש <sup>16</sup> ויענו את יהושע לאמר]	11
[כל אשר צויתנו נעשה ואל כל אשר תשלחנו]	12

[נלך <sup>17</sup> ככל אשר שמענו אל משה כן נשמע]	13
[אליך רק יהיה יהוה אלהיך עמך כאשר היה]	14
[עם משה <sup>18</sup> כל איש אשר ימרה את פיך ולא ישמע]	15
[את דבריך לכל אשר תצוונו יומת רק חזק]	16
[ואמץ <sup>2:1</sup> וישלח יהושע בן נון מן השמים שנים אנשים]	17
[מרגלים חרש לאמר לכו ראו את הארץ]	18
[ואת יריחו וילכו ויבאו בית אשה זונה ושמה]	19
[רחב וישכבו שמה <sup>2</sup> ויאמר למלך יריחו לאמר הנה]	20
[אנשים באו הנה הלילה מבני ישראל לחפר את]	21
[הארץ <sup>3</sup> וישלח מלך יריחו אל רחב לאמר הוציאי]	22
[האנשים הבאים אליך אשר באו לכיתך]	23
[כי לחפר את כל הארץ באו <sup>4</sup> ותקח האשה]	24
[את שני האנשים ותצפנו ותאמר כן באו אלי]	25
[האנשים] ולא ידעתי מאין המה <sup>5</sup> ויהי השער]	26
[לסגור] בחשך והאנשים יצאו לא ידעתי אנה]	27

[bottom] margin

Col. III 1-11 Josh 2:5b-10

[הלכו האנשים רדפו מהר אחריהם כי תשיגום]	1
[והיא העלתם הגגה ותטמנם בפשתי העץ]	2
[הערכות לה על הגג <sup>7</sup> והאנשים רדפו אחריהם]	3
[דרך הירדן על המעברות והשער סגרו אחרי]	4
[כאשר יצאו הרדפים אחריהם <sup>8</sup> והמה טרם]	5
[ישכבון והיא עלתה עליהם על הגג <sup>9</sup> ותאמר אל]	6
[האנשים ידעתי כי נתן יהוה לכם את הארץ]	7
[וכי נפלה אימתכם עלינו וכי נמגו כל ישבי]	8

[הארץ מפניכם <sup>10</sup> כי שמענו את אשר הוביש יהוה]	9
[את מי ים סוף מפניכם בצאתכם ממצרים ואשר]	10
[עשיתם לשני מלכי האמרי אשר בעבר הירדן]	11

Had XJosh and 4QJosh<sup>b</sup> belonged to the same scroll, frg. 1 of 4QJosh<sup>b</sup> would have to be inserted here, but as this fragment preserves a top margin at this point, that join is not possible.

4QJosh<sup>b</sup> 1 Josh 2:10-12

*top margin*

[לסיחן ולעוג אשר החרמתם אותם <sup>11</sup> ונשמע וימס לבבנו ו]לא קמה עוד רוח באיש	1
[מפניכם כי יהוה אלהיכם הוא אלהים בשמים ממעל ועל הארץ מתחת <sup>12</sup> ותאמ]ר <sup>15</sup> השבעו	2

<sup>15</sup> Contrast השבעו ז. ועתה השבעו זז.





## HEBREW AND ARAMAIC CONCORDANCES

THESE concordances refer to all the words occurring in the Hebrew and Aramaic texts covered by this volume, together with their respective contexts. All independent words are covered, thus excluding the attached morphemes -ב, -ה, -כ, and -ל. From left to right, each entry contains the reference to the text, lemma, and in-context phrase. The concordances were prepared by S. and C. Pfann; the lemmatizations have been reviewed by the editorial staff in Jerusalem.

### SIGLA

/	beginning of line
//	beginning of column
⋈	possible letter
⋉	probable letter
⋊	supralinear insertion
⋋	erasure by correction dot
{⋌}	erasure
[⋍]	reconstructed letter
<⋎>	modern editor's correction



8Hev 2 2,2	מִים	מִים	XHev/Se 6 3,5	עַל	/ שלום על־הָאָרֶץ
Jer 11 r5	מְכַרְךָ	מְכַרְךָ [?] מְכַרְךָ vacat מה־	XHev/Se 6 3,8	עַל	להעדר מעון עלן
Jer 11 b,1	מְכַרְךָ	מְכַרְךָ הבית להחזיר  בִּים־	XHev/Se 6 3,9	עַל	יד עלתקונוי לה־
XHev/Se 6 3,4	מֵלֵא	/ וזרעו מֵלֵא	8Hev 2 2,7	עֵם	על עמך יש־ראל
XHev/Se 6 3,6	מְלַךְ	/  מֵלֶךְ העלם אשרן  ה־	XHev/Se 6 1,9	עֵם	/ עם האחרנים ועל
Jer 11 r2	מֶן	מִמֶּנְהֶם פֶּתַח הַבַּיִת שְׁלִי	XHev/Se 6 2,1	עֵם	/ עשית־ עמנו בכל־
XHev/Se 6 1,6	מֶן	/ נְפֹלֵא גּוֹאֲלֵנוּ מֵעֲלָם	Jer 10 r6	עֲרָךְ	/ הֶעֱרַךְ־
Jer 15 IIe r1	מְנַחֵם	לִמְנַחֵם בֹּן	XHev/Se 6 2,1	עֲשָׂה	/ עשית־ עמנו בכל־
XHev/Se 6 1,3	מְסַבֵּב = מְשַׁבֵּב	מסגבילנו	Jer 15 IIIp+q r1	עֲשִׂירִין	/ בעשרין
XHev/Se 6 3,8	מְעוֹן	להעדר מעון עלן	Jer 11 r2	פֶּתַח	מִמֶּנְהֶם פֶּתַח הַבַּיִת שְׁלִי
XHev/Se 6 1,3	מְשַׁבֵּב = מְסַבֵּב	מסגבילנו	XHev/Se 6 2,7	צָדָק	/ תרוא כי־ צדקנו
XHev/Se 6 1,6	נֶפֶל	/ נְפֹלֵא גּוֹאֲלֵנוּ מֵעֲלָם	Jer 11 r3	צוּהָ?	ר/ד/הֵא ויצו את (?) /
XHev/Se 6 1,5	נָתַן	/   ] יתנו ולו נִסְ	Jer 9 r2	קָבַל	קִבְּלוּ־ בִּים־
XHev/Se 6 2,6	נָתַן	/ אבות ותתן לנו שן	Jer 11 r5	קָבַל	כִּסְּפוֹ קָבַלְנָה־
XHev/Se 6 3,7	סִינִי	בסיני וילמדנו א	XHev/Se 6 2,2	קָדַם	/ המקדמים   ] לנו בִּ
Jer 14 b,2	סָפַרְךָ?	שלהתי ב/כספ־א/ר	Jer 9 r11	קָסַר	פִּי־
Jer 14 b,2	סָפַרְךָ?	שלהתי ב/כספ־א/ר	XHev/Se 6 1,8	רִישׁוֹן = רִישׁוֹן	/ טובך להרישונים
Jer 15 Ia+b r2	עֲבַדְךָ?	/ עֲבַדְךָ / בִּים־	XHev/Se 6 2,7	רוּחַ	/ תרוא כי־ צדקנו
Jer 15 Ia+b r2	עֲבַרְךָ?	/ עֲבַרְךָ / בִּים־	XHev/Se 6 1,8	רִישׁוֹן = רִישׁוֹן	/ טובך להרישונים
Jer 10 r7	עַד	/ צִיֹּת עֹד־ בל־לִים־	XHev/Se 6 3,3	רָצוֹן	/ ברצונך וישן
8Hev 2 3,1	עַד	עֹד־	8Hev 2 2,6	שִׁים	שמת במן
XHev/Se 6 3,8	עוֹד	להעדר מעון עלן	Jer 10 r4	שָׁלַח	/ הִחֲצִי־רשלקך
XHev/Se 6 1,6	עוֹלָם	/ נְפֹלֵא גּוֹאֲלֵנוּ מֵעֲלָם	Jer 11 r2	שָׁלַח	מִמֶּנְהֶם פֶּתַח הַבַּיִת שְׁלִי
XHev/Se 6 3,6	עוֹלָם	/  מֵלֶךְ העלם אשרן  ה־	XHev/Se 6 3,5	שָׁלוֹם	/ שלום על־הָאָרֶץ
Jer 11 r1	עַל	עליו אֹו עִבְדֵי־ר/ג יְהוֹסֵף־ג	Jer 14 b,2	שָׁלַח	שלהתי ב/כספ־א/ר
Jer 11 r1	עַלְךָ?	עֲכָל־ בִּים־ / ינחלק	Jer 9 r11	שָׁנָה	בִּים־ וְשָׁנִים לִים־
Jer 11 r2	עַל	עַל־ גַּג הַבַּיִת הַלֵּז	Jer 15 IIIa+(?)b r3	שָׁתַף־?	טַן  רדרן ?  ל־ שותף
8Hev 2 2,7	עַל	על עמך יש־ראל	XHev/Se 6 3,9	תִּקְוִין	יד עלתקונוי לה־
XHev/Se 6 1,2	עַל	מורדים אנחנו לך עֲלֵ	Jer 10 r1	תִּשַׁע	/ בתשע לא־מִים־
XHev/Se 6 1,9	עַל	/ עם האחרנים ועל			

ARAMAIC CONCORDANCE

Jer 1 r5	אַבְיָאוֹר	יהוחנן בר אביאור ש 2	Sdeir 2 3	אַנְהָ	/ דִּי אַנְהָ שְׁאוּל בֵּר רַבִּין בְּדִין־
Jer 1 v II,1	אַבְיָאוֹר	/ יהוחנן בר אביאור ר 2	Jer 7 r,lv,7	אַנְטִילָר	בִּים־  מן 2 ת  ל אנטלר /
Sdeir 2 1	אַדְרָךְ	// בִּשְׁתֵּה לַאדְרָךְ שְׁנַת תְּלַת לְגֻאֲוֹלַת יִשְׂרָאֵל	Jer 7 r,lv,4	אַרְבַּע	/ ככרין ארבע למינתן לך כלקדמן
Jer 1 v I,4	אַחַ	בר אחוהי ש 2 /	Jer 7 r,lv,6	אַרְבַּע	/ גן תמרון ככרין ארבע
Sdeir 2 6	אַי	אַי־ לה יתקבל לך	Jer 8 c,1	אַרְעָה?	עֵאֵ
Jer 12 a,2	אַיְתִי	ואיתי לזכי עלי כִּסְּפוֹ זִוּוֹן מֵאָה	Jer 3 r2	בִּינָא	בִּים־ וְדַמִּי חֲצִין כֵּל בִּינָא /
34Se 3 2,1	אַיְתִי?	ב/איתי די זערתי	34Se 3 2,1	בִּיַתָּה?	ב/איתי די זערתי
Jer 8 a,2	אַלְךָ	א/ז   אִי־ אַלְךָ בִּרְדַתָּ בִּים־ קִימֵ	Jer 12 a,1	בִּין	יהוֹסֵף־ בִּין קִי־סֹסֵ ב/כִּים־ר/ך
Jer 2 1+2,3	אַלְךָ	// אַלְךָ /	Jer 1 r1	בִּר	חַנְנִיָּה בֵּר   אִי־ ש 2
Jer 8 b,2	אַלְךָ?	סִלְכַסְּפוֹ בִּים־   אִין־ סִלְקַן לְךָ־	Jer 1 r2	בִּר	תַּחְנָה בֵּר גַּרְפָּא ש 2
Jer 2 1+2,1	אַנְהָ	אִ זַאֲנָה־	Jer 1 r4	בִּר	יהוחנן בר שפנה ש 2

Jer 1 r5	בַּר	יהוחנן בר אביאור ש 2	Jer 7 r,lv,7	דָּבָר	שטרא רב ולמסק ללא דמן ]
Jer 1 r6	בַּר	נריה בר פדיה ש 1	Sdeir 2 7	דָּבָר	ותשלמטה / מן נכסי ודי אקנה לקבלדך
Jer 1 r7	בַּר	יהוחנן בר גרפא ש 2	34Se 3 2,5	דָּבָר	ה'נה לקבלדך ]
Jer 1 r9	בַּר	יהועזר בר שוה ר 2	Jer 1 r3	דלוי	דלוי ש ]
Jer 1 r10	בַּר	יהוסף בר שוה ר 2	Jer 7 r,uv,1	דמטס	( ב-20 ו-5 לטבת שנת    מרן ] טס
Jer 1 r11	בַּר	תחנה בר שלומה ש 1	Jer 7 r,lv,1	דמטס	שנת] תלת דמתס ק]סר /
Jer 1 r12	בַּר	[תחנה] בר עקיב ר 2	Jer 2 1+2,1	דָּמִין	[ב 0000?>א דמי 0
Jer 1 v I,2	בַּר	[ בר יהוחזי ר 2 /	Jer 3 r2	דָּמִין	[ 00 דמי חצן כל בינ]א /
Jer 1 v I,4	בַּר	[ בר אחוהי ש 2 /	Jer 7 r,lv,5	דָּמִין	מהן דמי יתמין כמקדמן משין    ב 00
Jer 1 v I,5	בַּר	יהוחנן] בר שפנה ר 2' /	Jer 7 r,lv,7	דָּמִין	שטרא רב ולמסק ללא דמן ]
Jer 1 v II,1	בַּר	/ יהוחנן בר אביאור ר 2	Jer 7 r,lv,8	דָּמִין	דמיא כשער סין /
Jer 1 v II,2	בַּר	/ עבדא בר [עקוב ר 2	Jer 12 a,2	דָּמִין	דמיין גמריין
Jer 1 v II,4	בַּר	/ שמעון בר יהורם ר 2	Sdeir 2 6	דָּנָה?	אהלה לך / שטרה ד]נה
Jer 1 v II,5	בַּר	/ [יהו]עזר בר שוה מ 4	34Se 3 2,5	דָּנָה	ה'נה לקבלדך ]
Jer 2 1+2,4	בַּר	[יהב לנהו]ניא בר לויא דא לה /	Jer 8 a,2	דָּרָא	א/ז ] 0000 א]ך בדרתא 0000 קימ]
Jer 3 v1	בַּר	[בר שמון /	Jer 3 r5	דָּרָא	[ הן יתשוי לות /
Jer 3 v3	בַּר	[בר חניא 0	Jer 7 r,lv,5	דָּבָר	5 / 20 כסף בזבנה
Jer 7 r,lv,2	בַּר	/ מל 00 זבן יהוסף בר יהוחנן מן ]	Jer 2 1+2,4	זבן	[חקלא די זבן ]
Jer 7 r,lv,3	בַּר	/ בר יהוחנן 00000 רב ] תמריין	Jer 3 r6	זבן	[ זבין בשער /
Jer 7 v,lv,1	בַּר	/ יהוסף בר יהוחנן [על נפ]שה /	Jer 6 3,1	זבן	[תובון
Jer 7 v,lv,3	בַּר	/ יהוחנן ב]ה שמן [שהח?]] /	Jer 7 r,lv,2	זבן	/ מל 00 זבן יהוסף בר יהוחנן מן ]
Sdeir 2 3	בַּר	/ די אנה שאול בר רבן בדיין	Jer 7 r,lv,4	זבן?	יהוחנן ב]ה?]] יהוסף בכסף זביןנה
Sdeir 2 9	בַּר	/ שאול בר רבן על נפשה כתבן	Jer 7 r,lv,8	זבן	/ דיתמא רשי למזבן כל דבעלם
Sdeir 2 10	בַּר	/ בר חוקיה ממרה /	Jer 13 r5	זבן	[ 0000 זבן 0
Sdeir 2 11	בַּר	/ יהודה בר ישמע[אל שהר]	Jer 7 r,uv,2	זו	/ 20 ו-5 זוין טבין תקלין 0 כסף
Sdeir 2 12	בַּר	/ יהוסף בר 0000 ] שהר]	Jer 8 e,1	זו	[? 0000?]] א/א חלא זוין ]
Sdeir 2 1	גְּאוּלָּה	// כשתה לאדר שנת תלת לגאולת ישראל	Jer 12 a,2	זו	[ואיתי לכי עלי כסף זבין מאה
Sdeir 2 8	ג	/ 0000 וחתמוי בגוה /	Sdeir 2 3	זו	סף זבין    שטת 0 ]
Jer 12 a,2	גמר	דמיין גמריין	34Se 3 2,3	זו	[כסף זוין שתין
Jer 7 r,lv,6	ג	/ גן תמריין ככריין ארבע	Jer 2 1+2,2	זי	חקלא זי 0000 ]
Jer 13 r4	ג	[ בגנת ב/כ/ 00000 ]	Sdeir 2 5	זמן	[ן בכול זמן די תמר לי
Jer 1 r2	גרפא	תחנה בר גרפא ש 2	34Se 3 2,4	זמן	[עמך בכל זמן]
Jer 1 r7	גרפא	יהוחנן בר גרפא ש 2	34Se 3 2,1	זער	[ב/איתי די זערת]
Jer 1 v I,3	גרפא	[ גרפא ש 1 /	Jer 3 r3	ח = חנטא	[חמצא קב ה' מן /
Jer 7 r,lv,8	ד	/ דיתמא רשי למזבן כל דבעלם	Jer 3 r2	חוק	[ 00 דמי חצן כל בינ]א /
Jer 7 r,lv,8	ד	/ דיתמא רשי למזבן כל דבעלם	Jer 8 b,3	חזא	/ 0 ] 00000000ה /מן כדי חזא
Jer 2 1+2,4	דא	[יהב לנהו]ניא בר לויא דא לה /	Sdeir 2 10	חזקיה	/ בר חוקיה ממרה /
Jer 2 1+2,4	די	[חקלא די זבן ]	Jer 1 v II,3	חטלא	/ תחנה חטלא ר 2
Sdeir 2 3	די	/ די אנה שאול בר רבן בדיין	Sdeir 2 5	חלף	אהלה לך / שטרה ד]נה
Sdeir 2 5	די	[ן בכול זמן די תמר לי	Jer 3 r3	חמצא	[חמצא קב ה' מן /
Sdeir 2 7	די	ותשלמטה / מן נכסי ודי אקנה לקבלדך	Jer 3 r1	חמש	[זטבן קבין חמשה 000 /
34Se 3 2,1	די	[ב/איתי די זערת]	Jer 7 r,lv,1	חמש	/ בעשרין וחמשה לטבת [שנת]תלת
Sdeir 2 3	דין	/ די אנה שאול בר רבן בדיין	Jer 7 r,lv,7	חמש	שמתסק לך סלין תמריין / חמשה
Jer 2 1+2,2	דב	[א לקבלדך ומן 0	Jer 3 r3	חנטא = ח	[חמצא קב ה' מן /
Jer 2 1+2,3	דב	[לקבלדך עביר]	Jer 3 v3	חניא	[בר חניא 0
Jer 2 1+2,5	דב	[לקבלדך /	Jer 1 r,1	חנניה	חנניה בר ] זי ש 2



Jer 2 1+2,2	חַקֵּל	חַקֵּל לֹא זִי 000	Jer 7 r,lv,8	כֹּל	/ דִּיתמא רשי למזבן כל דבעלם
Jer 2 1+2,4	חַקֵּל	[חַקֵּלֹא דִי זִבְנִי ]	Jer 8 b,2	כֹּלָא	000 לִסְכַּף 000 [ 000 ] 000 קֵלֵן לִךְ/ךְ
Jer 2 1+2,3	חַתֵּם	[כֹּדִי בַה וַחַתִּים קִים	Sdeir 2 5	כֹּל	[ 000 ] 000 זִמֵּן דִּי תִמֵּר לִי
Sdeir 2 8	חַתֵּם	/ 0000 וַחַתְמוֹי בַּגוּהַ /	34Se 3 2,4	כֹּל	[עִמְךָ בְּכֹל זִמְנִי]
Jer 3 r1	סָב	[זִטְבֵּן קִבְּוִן חַמְשָׁה 000 /	Jer 7 r,uv,2	כָּסֶף	/ 20 ו-5 זִוּוּיִן טַבִּין תְּקַלִּין 0 כֶּסֶף
Jer 7 r,uv,2	טָב	/ 20 ו-5 זִוּוּיִן טַבִּין תְּקַלִּין 0 כֶּסֶף	Jer 7 r,lv,4	כָּסֶף	[יְהוֹחַנָּן בַּח?]] יְהוֹסֵף בְּכֶסֶף זְבִינְהָן
Jer 7 r,uv,1	טַבַּת	( ב-20 ו-5 לַטְבַּת שְׁנַת [ מַרְן ] טַס	Jer 7 r,lv,5	כָּסֶף	[ 5 ] / 20 כֶּסֶף בִּזְבַּנְהַ
Jer 7 r,lv,1	טַבַּת	/ בַּעֲשָׂרִין וַחַמְשָׁה לַטְבַּת [שְׁנַת תַּלַּת	Jer 8 b,2	כָּסֶף	000 לִסְכַּף 000 [ 000 ] 000 קֵלֵן לִךְ/ךְ
Jer 13 r1	טַרְיִינוּס	[וַתְּמַנְה טַרְיִינוּס קַסְרִי	Jer 12 a,2	כָּסֶף	[וְאִיתִי לְכִי עַלִּי כֶּסֶף זְוּוּן מְאֵה
Jer 2 1+2,4	יַהֵב	[יַהֵב לַנְּחֹוּנֵן] זֵא בְּרִי לִוְיָא דֵא לֵה /	Sdeir 2 3	כָּסֶף	סָף זְוּוּן [שִׁטְטִים ] [
Jer 6 5,1	יַהֵב	[יַהֵב ]	34Se 3 2,3	כָּסֶף	[כֶּסֶף זִוּוּיִן שְׁתַּוּיִן]
Sdeir 2 11	יְהוּדָה	/ יְהוּדָה בְּרִי יִשְׁמַע[אֵל שְׁהַד]	Jer 2 1+2,6	כְּתָב	000 [ 000 ] 000 [ 000 ] 000 אֵה כְּתָבָה /
Jer 1 v I,2	יְהוּחֻזִי	[ בְּרִי יְהוּחֻזִי ר 2 /	Jer 2 1+2,7	כְּתָב	[ 000 ] 000 [כְּתָבָה /
Jer 1 r,4	יְהוּחַנָּן	יְהוּחַנָּן בְּרִי שְׁפַנְהַ ש 2	Jer 2 1+2,9	כְּתָב	[ 000 ] 000 [כְּתָבָה /
Jer 1 r,5	יְהוּחַנָּן	יְהוּחַנָּן בְּרִי אַבְיָאוּר ש 2	Jer 13 r2	כְּתָב	[ 000 ] 000 [לְמַכְתָּב ב/כֶּסֶף עַמִּי/ס לֹא]
Jer 1 r,7	יְהוּחַנָּן	יְהוּחַנָּן בְּרִי גַרְפָּא ש 2	Sdeir 2 7	כְּתָב	כְּתָבִים /
Jer 1 v II,1	יְהוּחַנָּן	/ יְהוּחַנָּן ב[ר] א[בִיאוּר ר 2	Sdeir 2 9	כְּתָב	/ שְׁאוּל בְּרִי רַבֵּן עַל נַפְשָׁה כְּתָבִן
Jer 7 r,lv,2	יְהוּחַנָּן	/ מִלִּים 000 זְבֵן יְהוֹסֵף בְּרִי יְהוּחַנָּן מֵן [	Jer 6 4,2	לָא	/ לֹא תִן
Jer 7 r,lv,3	יְהוּחַנָּן	/ בְּרִי יְהוּחַנָּן 00000 רַבֵּן [ תַּמְרִינִי	Jer 7 r,lv,7	לָא	שְׁטַרָא דְבַ וּלְמַסַּק לִלֵּא דִמֵּן [
Jer 7 v,lv,1	יְהוּחַנָּן	/ יְהוֹסֵף בְּרִי יְהוּחַנָּן [עַל נַפְ[שָׁה] /	Sdeir 2 6	לָא = לָה	אִי לֵה יִתְקַבֵּל לָךְ
Jer 7 v,lv,3	יְהוּחַנָּן	/ יְהוּחַנָּן ב[ר] שְׁמֵן [שְׁהַד?]] /	Sdeir 2 6	לָה = לָא	אִי לֵה יִתְקַבֵּל לָךְ
Jer 1 r10	יְהוֹסֵף	יְהוֹסֵף בְּרִי שׁוּהַ ר 2	Jer 2 1+2,4	לָיִי	[יַהֵב לַנְּחֹוּנֵן] זֵא בְּרִי לִוְיָא דֵא לֵה /
Jer 7 r,lv,2	יְהוֹסֵף	/ מִלִּים 000 זְבֵן יְהוֹסֵף בְּרִי יְהוּחַנָּן מֵן [	Jer 3 r5	לָוִת	[ הֵן יִתְשׁוּי לִוִּת /
Jer 7 r,lv,2	יְהוֹסֵף	[ לִיְהוּחַנָּן בְּרִי יְהוֹסֵף מַתְּרִי	Jer 12 a,2	מְאֵה	[וְאִיתִי לְכִי עַלִּי כֶּסֶף זְוּוּן מְאֵה
Jer 7 r,lv,4	יְהוֹסֵף	יְהוּחַנָּן בַּח?]] יְהוֹסֵף בְּכֶסֶף זְבִינְהָן	Sdeir 2 10	מְאֵמֵר	/ בְּרִי חֻזְקִיָּה מַמְרָה /
Jer 7 v,lv,1	יְהוֹסֵף	/ יְהוֹסֵף בְּרִי יְהוּחַנָּן [עַל נַפְ[שָׁה] /	Jer 2 1+2,8	מְחַנְּנִים	מְחַנְּנִים 000000 [ 000 ] 000 [ 000 ] 000
Jer 7 v,lv,5	יְהוֹסֵף	/ יְהוֹסֵף 0000 /	Jer 3 v2	מִיָּא	[ מִיָּא /
Jer 8 b,2	יְהוֹסֵף	000 יְהוֹסֵף [ 000 ] 000	Jer 2 1+2,2	מֵן	[שְׁטֹרֵךְ כְּוֹלָה מֵן]
Jer 12 a,1	יְהוֹסֵף	יְהוֹסֵף בְּןֵן קִים 000 ב/כֶּסֶף/ךְ	Jer 2 1+2,2	מֵן	[אֵל לְקַבְּלֵךְ וּמֵן 0]
Sdeir 2 12	יְהוֹסֵף	/ יְהוֹסֵף בְּרִי 0000 [ שְׁהַד]	Jer 2 1+2,4	מֵן	[ 000 ] 000 [בְּהַ מֵן]
Jer 1 r9	יְהוֹעֶזֶר	יְהוֹעֶזֶר בְּרִי שׁוּהַ ר 2	Jer 3 r3	מֵן	[חַמְצָא קַב חַן מֵן /
Jer 1 v II,5	יְהוֹעֶזֶר	/ [יְהוֹעֶזֶר בְּרִי שׁוּהַ מ 4	Jer 7 r,lv,2	מֵן	/ מִלִּים 000 זְבֵן יְהוֹסֵף בְּרִי יְהוּחַנָּן מֵן [
Jer 1 v II,4	יְהוֹרָם	/ שְׁמַעוֹן בְּרִי יְהוֹרָם ר 2	Jer 7 r,lv,2	מֵן?	[לִיְהוּחַנָּן בְּרִי יְהוֹסֵף מַתְּרִי]
Jer 3 r4	יֵרַת	[וִירֹתֵךְ <?> לִים בְּעִבְרֵתֵךְ /	Jer 7 r,lv,5	מֵן	מַהֵן דְּמִי יִתְמִין כְּמַקְדָּמֵן מַשְׁיֵן [ 000 ] 000
Sdeir 2 11	יִשְׁפָּעֵאל	/ יְהוּדָה בְּרִי יִשְׁמַע[אֵל שְׁהַד]	Jer 7 r,lv,5	מֵן	מַהֵן דְּמִי יִתְמִין כְּמַקְדָּמֵן מַשְׁיֵן [ 000 ] 000
Sdeir 2 1	יִשְׁרָאֵל	// בְּשֵׁתָה לֵאדֵרֵךְ שְׁנַת תַּלַּת לְגֵאוּלַּת יִשְׂרָאֵל	Jer 8 b,1	מֵן	[ 000 ] 000 [ 000 ] 000 מֵן [
Jer 7 r,lv,5	יִתֵּם	מַהֵן דְּמִי יִתְמִין כְּמַקְדָּמֵן מַשְׁיֵן [ 000 ] 000	Jer 12 a,1	מֵן	מֵן 000/ךְ/ךְ [ 000 ] 000
Jer 7 r,lv,8	יִתֵּם	/ דִּיתמא רשי למזבן כל דבעלם	Sdeir 2 7	מֵן	וַתְּשַׁלְּמַתְהַ / מֵן נְכַסִּי וְדִי אַקְנָה לְקַבְּלֵךְ
Jer 2 1+2,3	כָּדִי	[כֹּדִי בַה וַחַתִּים קִים	Sdeir 2 10	מֵן	/ בְּרִי חֻזְקִיָּה מַמְרָה /
Jer 8 b,3	כָּדִי	/ 000 [שְׁטֵטִים 0000 מֵן/כֹּדִי חֵזָא	34Se 3 2,2	מֵן	[מֵן רַבַּת עַן]
Jer 7 r,lv,4	כְּבָרָא	/ כְּכַרִּין אַרְבַּע לְמִינֵתֵן לָךְ כְּלַקְדָּמֵן [	Jer 7 r,uv,3	מַסַּק	/ לְמַסַּק לָךְ סְלִין תַּמְרִין לְמַנְתֵּן
Jer 7 r,lv,6	כְּבָרָא	/ גֵּן תַּמְרִין כְּכַרִּין אַרְבַּע	Jer 7 r,lv,6	מַסַּק	שְׁתַּמְסֵק לָךְ סְלִין תַּמְרִין / חַמְשָׁה
Jer 1 r13	כֹּל	[כֹּל ש 2]	Jer 7 r,lv,7	מַסַּק	שְׁטַרָא דְבַ וּלְמַסַּק לִלֵּא דִמֵּן [
Jer 1 v II,7	כֹּל	/ כֹּל [ מ 4 שְׁאֵר ש 8 מ ]	Jer 7 r,uv,1	מְרָא	( ב-20 ו-5 לַטְבַּת שְׁנַת [ מַרְן ] טַס
Jer 2 1+2,2	כֹּל	[שְׁטֹרֵךְ כְּוֹלָה מֵן]	Jer 7 r,lv,2	מַתְרֵ?	לִיְהוּחַנָּן בְּרִי יְהוֹסֵף מַתְּרִי
Jer 3 r2	כֹּל	[ 000 ] 000 חֲצֵן כֹּל בִּינְיָא /	Jer 1 r8	נְגַר	שְׁלִמְיָה נְגַרָא ש 1



Jer 1 v I,7	נָגַד	/ נגידא ר 2	Sdeir 29	שָׁאוֹל	/ שאול בר רבן על נפשה כתב]
Jer 2 1+2,4	נְחֻנְיָא	/ ייהב לנחון[נ]יא בך לויא דא לה /	Jer 1 v II,7	שָׁאֵר	/ כל [ מ 4 שאר ש 8 מ ]
Sdeir 2 7	נָכַס	ותשלמתה / מן נכסי ודי אקנה לקבלדך	Jer 13 r3	שָׁאֵר	[ 000 שאר[?]ה/0 ]
Jer 7 v,lv,1	נֶפֶשׁ	/ יהוסף בר יהוחנן [על נפ[שה] /	Jer 1 r9	שָׁוּה	יהועזר בר שוה ר 2
Sdeir 2 9	נֶפֶשׁ	/ שאול בר רבן על נפשה כתב]	Jer 1 r10	שָׁוּה	יהוסף בר שוה ר 2
Jer 1 r,6	נְרִיָּה	נריה בר פדיה ש 1	Jer 1 v II,5	שָׁוּה	/ [יהו]עזר בר שוה מ 4
Jer 7 r,uv,3	נָתַן	/ למסק לך סלין תמרין למנתן	Jer 3 r5	שׁוּי	/ הן יתשוי לות /
Jer 7 r,lv,4	נָתַן	/ ככרין ארבע למינתן לך כלקדמן ]	Jer 2 1+2,2	שָׁטַר	[שטוך כולה מן]
Jer 7 r,uv,3	סָל	/ למסק לך סלין תמרין למנתן	Jer 7 r,lv,7	שָׁטַר	שטרא דכ ולמסק ללא דמן ]
Jer 7 r,lv,6	סָל	שתמסק לך סלין תמרין / חמשה	Jer 8 b,3	שָׁטַר?	/ [ 000 שטט 0000 מן כזי הזא
Jer 2 1+2,3	עֵבֵר	[לקבלדך עביר]	Sdeir 2 6	שָׁטַר	אחלה לך / שטרה ד[נ]ה
Jer 1 v II,2	עֵבְרָא	/ עברא בר [ע]קוב ר 2	Jer 1 r11	שְׁלוֹמָה = שְׁלֹמָה	תחנה בר שלומה ש 1
Jer 7 v,lv,1	עַל	/ יהוסף בר יהוחנן [על נפ[שה] /	Jer 1 r11	שְׁלֹמָה = שְׁלֹמָה	תחנה בר שלומה ש 1
Jer 12 a,2	עַל	[ואיתי לזי עלי כסף זוזין מאה	Jer 1 r8	שְׁלֹמִיָּה	שלמיה נגרא ש 1
Sdeir 2 9	עַל	/ שאול בר רבן על נפשה כתב]	Jer 3 v1	שְׁמוֹן = שְׁמֹן	[בר שמון /
Jer 7 r,lv,8	עָלַם	/ דיתמא רשי למזבן כל דבעלם	Jer 7 v,lv,3	שְׁמֹן = שְׁמֵעוֹן	/ [יהוחנן בר[ן] שמן [שהד[?]] /
34Se 3 2,4	עָם	[עמד בכל זמן]	Jer 1 v II,4	שְׁמֵעוֹן	/ שמעון בר יהורם ר 2
Jer 1 r12	עֲקוּב	[ת]חנ[ה] בר עקוב ר 2	Jer 3 v1	שְׁמֵעוֹן = שְׁמֹן	[בר שמון /
Jer 1 v II,2	עֲקוּב	/ עברא בר [ע]קוב ר 2	Jer 7 v,lv,3	שְׁמֵעוֹן = שְׁמֹן	/ [יהוחנן בר[ן] שמן [שהד[?]] /
Sdeir 2 4	עֲשָׂר	/ עשר ת[ס] דה 1000 1000	Jer 7 r,uv,1	שְׁנָה	[ב-20 ו-5 לטבת שנת [מרן] [טס
Jer 7 r,lv,1	עֲשָׂרִין	/ בעשרין וחמשה לטבת [שנ]ת תלת	Jer 7 r,lv,1	שְׁנָה	[שנ]ת תלת דמתס קסר /
Jer 1 r6	פְּדִיָּה	נריה בר פדיה ש 1	Sdeir 2 1	שְׁנָה	// בשתה לארד שנת תלת לגאולת ישראל
Jer 2 1+2,1	פָּרַע	[א]פדעה לרבע א[ם]	Jer 3 r6	שְׁעָרָא	[ זבין בשער /
Sdeir 2 2	פָּרַע	[ 000000 000000 פרע 000000 /	Jer 7 r,lv,8	שְׁעָרָא	דמיא כשער סין /
Jer 3 r4	צִבְאָ	[ויורדתך [?]ל[ם] ל[ם] בצבאותך /	Jer 1 r4	שַׁפְּנָה	יהוחנן בר שפנה ש 2
Jer 3 r1	קָב	[וטבן קבין חמשה 000 /	Jer 1 v I,5	שַׁפְּנָה	יהוחנן בר שפנה ר 2 /
Jer 3 r3	קָב	[חמצא קב ח [ מן /	Jer 8 b,2	שְׁקָלָא?	0 לכסף 000 [ 0000 סלין לה/ך
Sdeir 2 6	קָבֵל	אי לה יתקבל לך	Sdeir 2 1	שֵׁת	// בשתה לארד שנת תלת לגאולת ישראל
Jer 2 1+2,2	קָבֵל	[א לקבלדך ומן 0]	34Se 3 2,3	שְׁתִּין	[כסף זוזין שתין]
Jer 2 1+2,3	קָבֵל	[לקבלדך עביר]	Jer 1 r2	תְּחִנָּה	תחנה בר גרפא ש 2
Jer 2 1+2,5	קָבֵל	[לקבלדך /	Jer 1 r11	תְּחִנָּה	תחנה בר שלומה ש 1
Sdeir 2 7	קָבֵל	ותשלמתה / מן נכסי ודי אקנה לקבלדך	Jer 1 r12	תְּחִנָּה	[ת]חנ[ה] בר עקוב ר 2
34Se 3 2,5	קָבֵל	[ה]נה לקבלדך]	Jer 1 v II,3	תְּחִנָּה	/ תחנה חטלא ר 2
Jer 7 r,lv,4	קָדַם	/ ככרין ארבע למינתן לך כלקדמן ]	Jer 7 r,lv,1	תְּלָת	[שנ]ת תלת דמתס קסר /
Jer 7 r,lv,5	קָדַם	מהן דמי יתמין כמקדמן משין [ 0000 ]	Sdeir 2 1	תְּלָת	// בשתה לארד שנת תלת לגאולת ישראל
Sdeir 2 7	קָנָה	ותשלמתה / מן נכסי ודי אקנה לקבלדך	Jer 13 r1	תְּמַנָּה	[ותמנה טריינזוס קסר]
Jer 7 r,lv,1	קָסַר	[שנ]ת תלת דמתס קסר /	Jer 7 r,uv,3	תְּמָר	/ למסק לך סלין תמרין למנתן
Jer 13 r1	קָסַר	[ותמנה טריינזוס קסר]	Jer 7 r,lv,3	תְּמָר	/ בר יהוחנן 000000 רב [ תמרין]
Sdeir 2 3	רָבָן	/ די אנה שאול בר רבן ב[ו]ין]	Jer 7 r,lv,6	תְּמָר	/ גן תמרין ככרין ארבע
Sdeir 2 9	רָבָן	/ שאול בר רבן על נפשה כתב]	Jer 7 r,lv,6	תְּמָר	שתמסק לך סלין תמרין / חמשה
Jer 2 1+2,1	רָבַע	[א]פדעה לרבע א[ם]	Sdeir 2 5	תְּמָר	[ן בכול זמן די תמר לי
34Se 3 2,2	רָבַת	[מן רבת ע]	Jer 7 r,uv,2	תְּקַל	/ 20 ו-5 זוזין טבין תקלין 0 כסף
Jer 7 r,lv,8	רְשָׁאִי	/ דיתמא רשי למזבן כל דבעלם	Jer 7 r,lv,2	תְּרָן?	ליהוחנן בר[ן] יהוסף מתר]
Jer 7 r,lv,6	ש-	שתמסק לך סלין תמרין / חמשה	Sdeir 2 6	תְּשֻׁלְמָה	ותשלמתה / מן נכסי ודי אקנה לקבלדך
Sdeir 2 3	שָׁאוֹל	/ די אנה שאול בר רבן ב[ו]ין]			

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Τραϊανὸν Ἀδριανὸν Καίσαρα Jer 16 6–7

## Index 2: Consuls

ὑπατείας Ἀσπρῆνας τὸ δεύτερον καὶ Ἀννίου Λίβωνος Jer 16 10–13

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Ἐλληλος		Ἰείωνι	Jer 19 frg. b 3
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Ουαλεριος (?)		Φείλωνοc	1Mish 2 1
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].φύλαξ	
].φύλαξ	Jer 18 1

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]α	34Se 4 frg. b 5
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^	(kab)	34Se 5 2
—	(se <sup>2</sup> ah)	34Se 5 2, 3
4	(wheat)	34Se 5 2, 3

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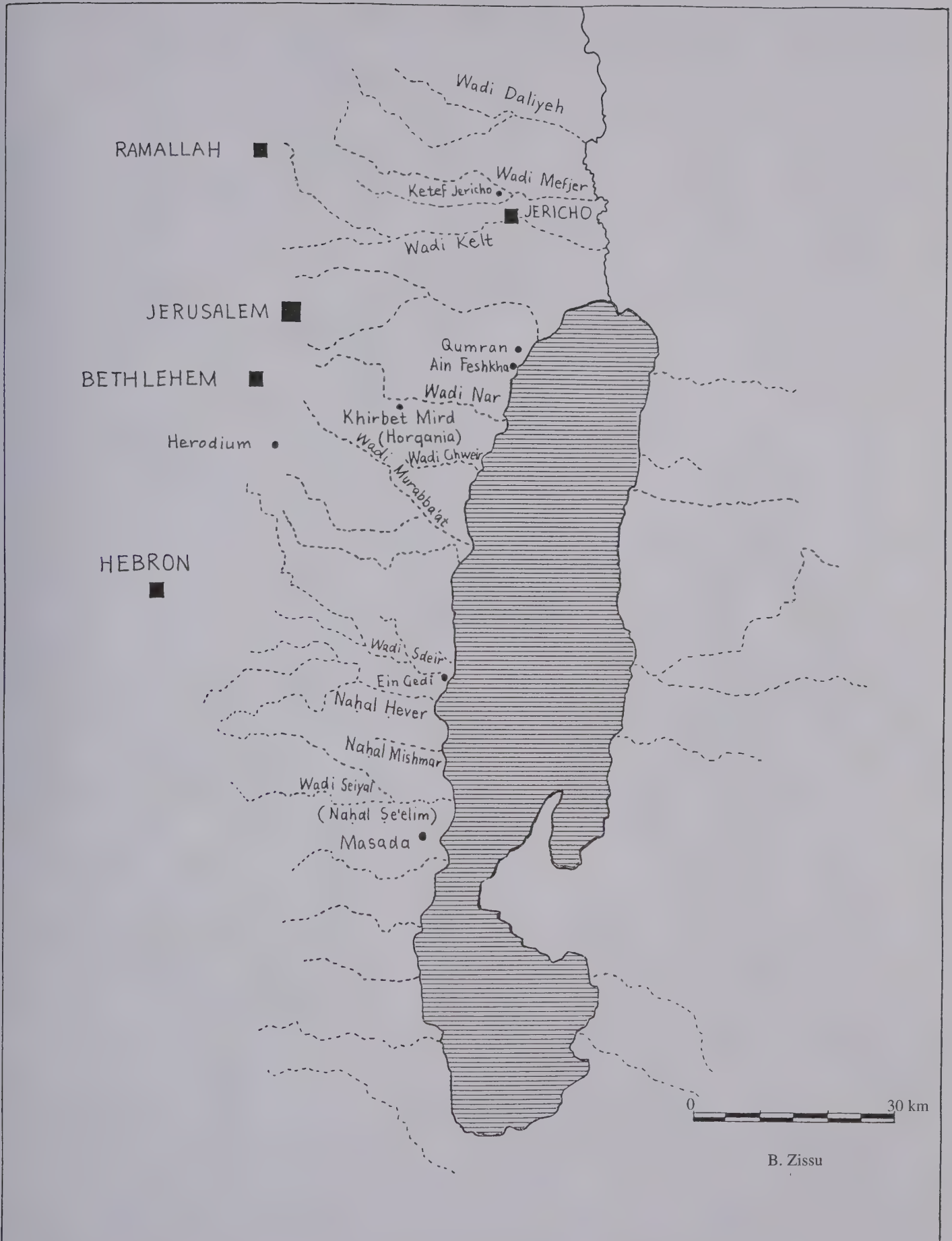
ἀγοραμα		ἐπτ[α]	Jer 19g 2
ἀγοραμα	Jer 5e 4	ἔχω	
ἀδελφός		ἔσχω	Jer 16 18
ἀδελφός	34Se 4 frg. b 7	ἔτος	
ἀδ[ελφ]	34Se 4 frg. b 8	ἐτῶν	34Se 4 frg. a 2, 3
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αδ[...φ]	1Mish 2 1	ἐτων	34Se 4 frg. a 8, 9
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ἄλλο	34Se 4 frg. b 8	ἴδιος	
ἄλλου	Jer 4 2; 5e 4	ἴδου	Jer 4 14
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ἀνατολή		καί	Jer 4
ἀνατολή[ν]	Jer 4 11	καὶ	Jer 4 8
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δι'	Jer 5e 1	μέρους	Jer 4 8; 13
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διέστειλεν	Jer 19 frg. b 2	μή	Jer 19 frg. c 4
έν		μήκος	
έγ	Jer 4 8, 9	μήσου	Jer 4 6
είς		νότος	
είς	Jer 4 11	νότον	Jer 4 10
είς	Jer 18 1	νῦν	Jer 5e 6
ἐγώ		ὀ	
ἐμέ	Jer 4 2	τῆς	Jer 18 1
εἶμι		τὸ	Jer 16 11; 18 1
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ἐπτά	Jer 16 4		
ἔπτα	Jer 19 frg. a 5		

τοῦ	Jer 4 14	προγράφω	
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των[	Jer 5a 3	κοι	Jer 5a 3
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οἴκου	Jer 4 6	σπέρμα	
ὅτι		σπέρ[ματα]	Jer 5e 3
ὅτι	Jer 5e 5	[κύ]ν	Jer 5e 6
ὀλόκληρος		ταμιακός	
[ὀλόκ]ληρο[ς]	34Se 4 frg. d 4	ταμικῆς	Jer 18 1
ὀλόκληρος	34Se 4 frg. f 2	ὑπατεία	see Index 5
οὐκ		]φύλαξ	see Index 5
]..οὐκ[	Jer 19 frg. e 5	χώρα	
οὔτος		χώραν..[	Jer 5b 5
ταύτης	Jer 18 1		



# FIGURES



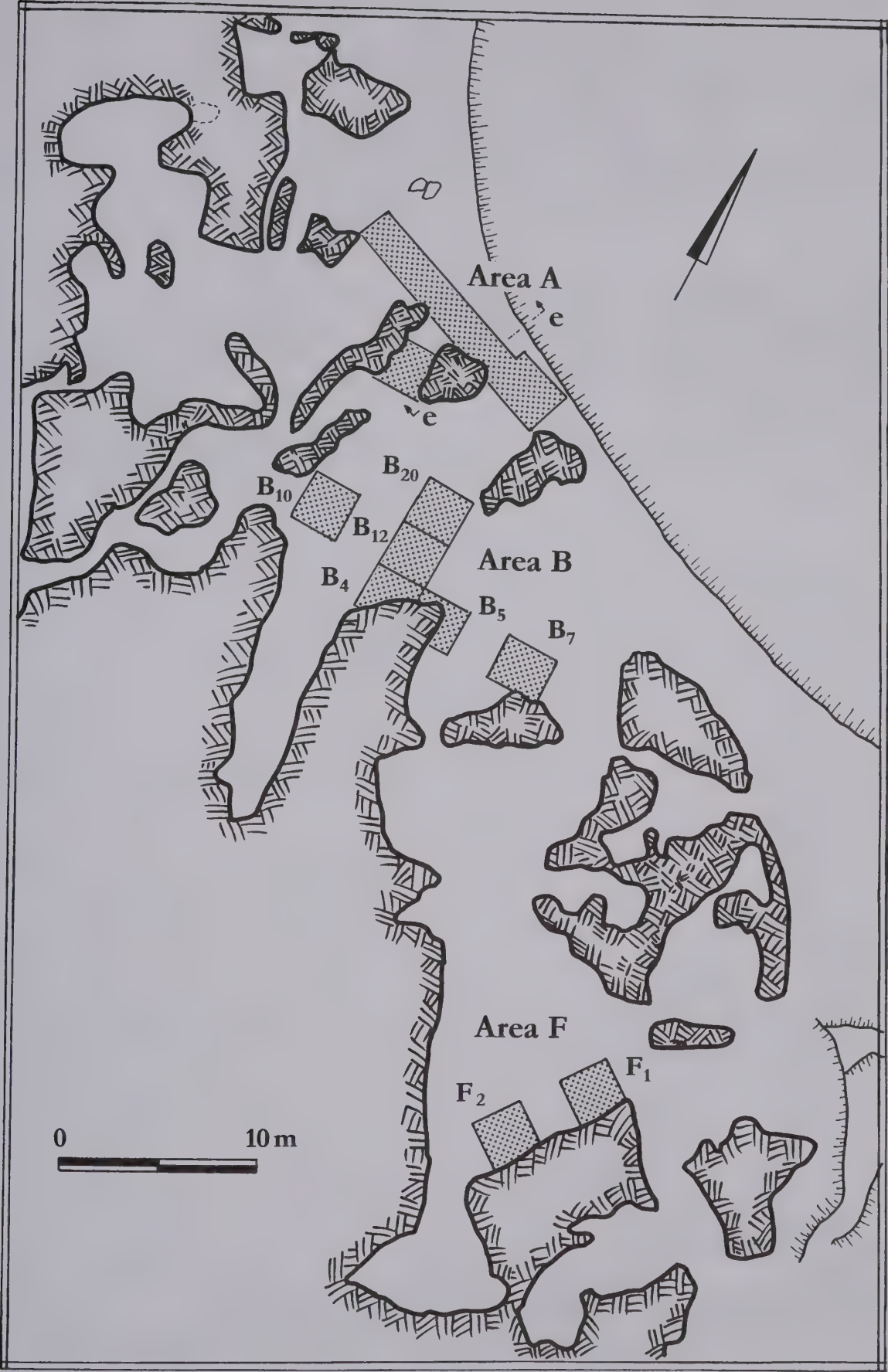


Map of the Dead Sea Region

Fig. 2



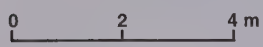
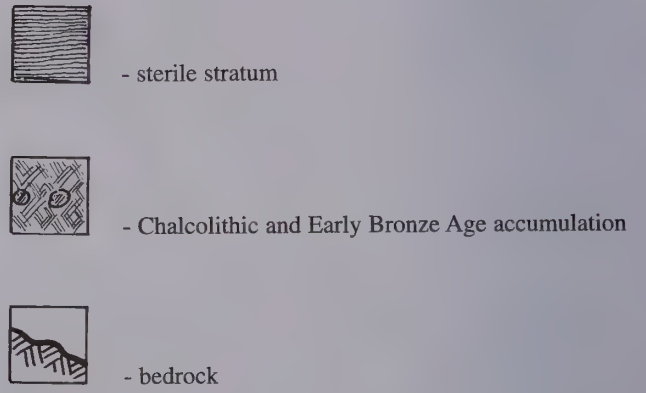
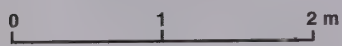
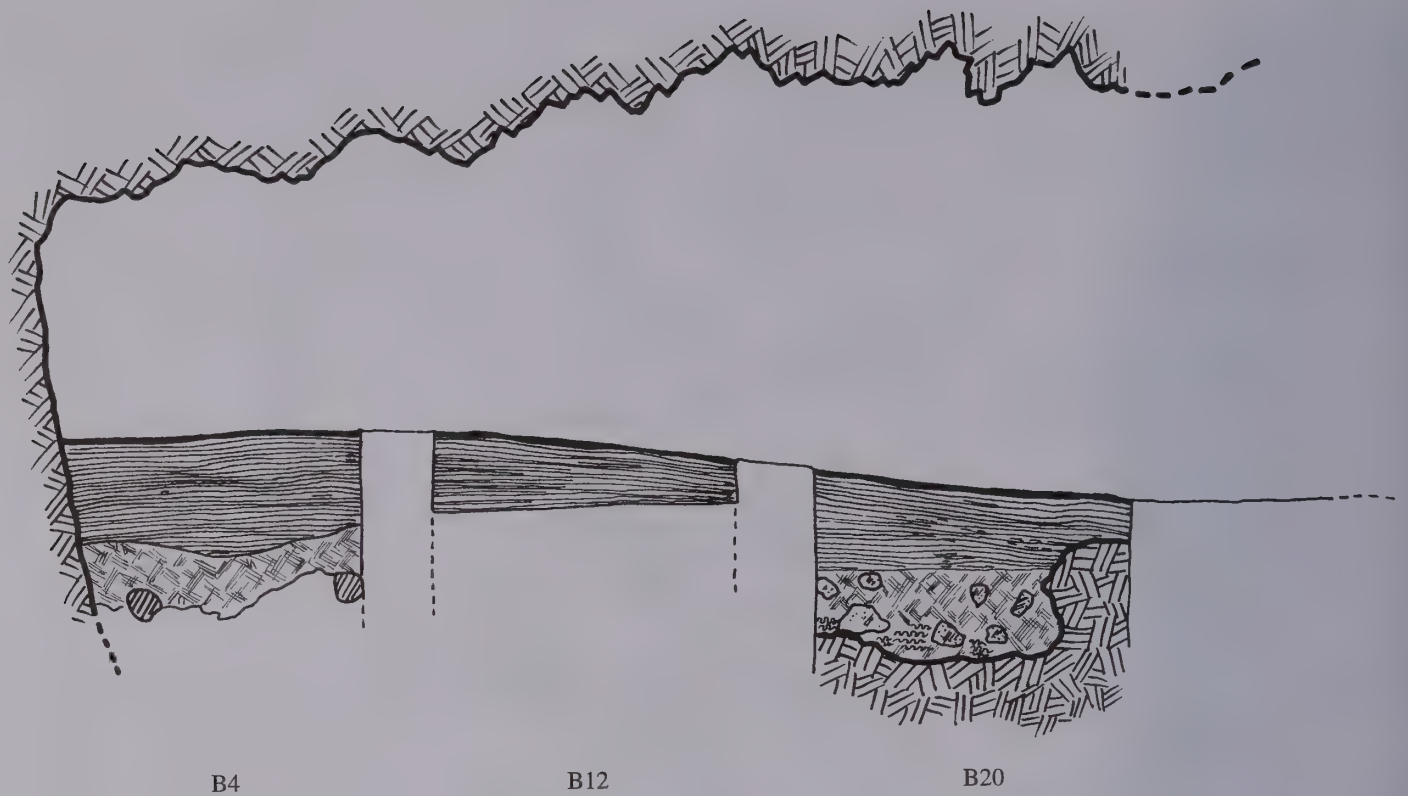
Plan: Large Cave Complex



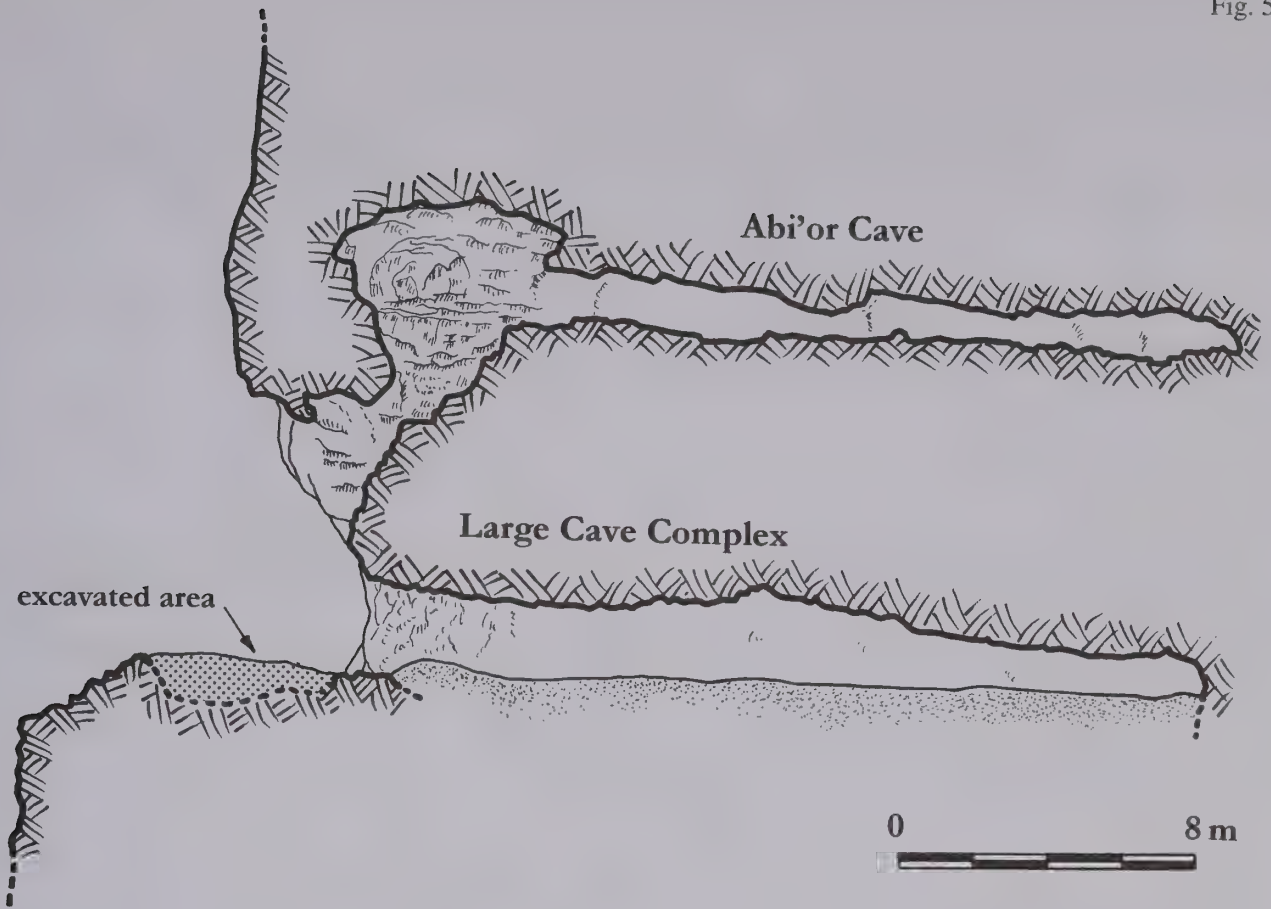
Large Cave Complex excavation areas







Fig. 4

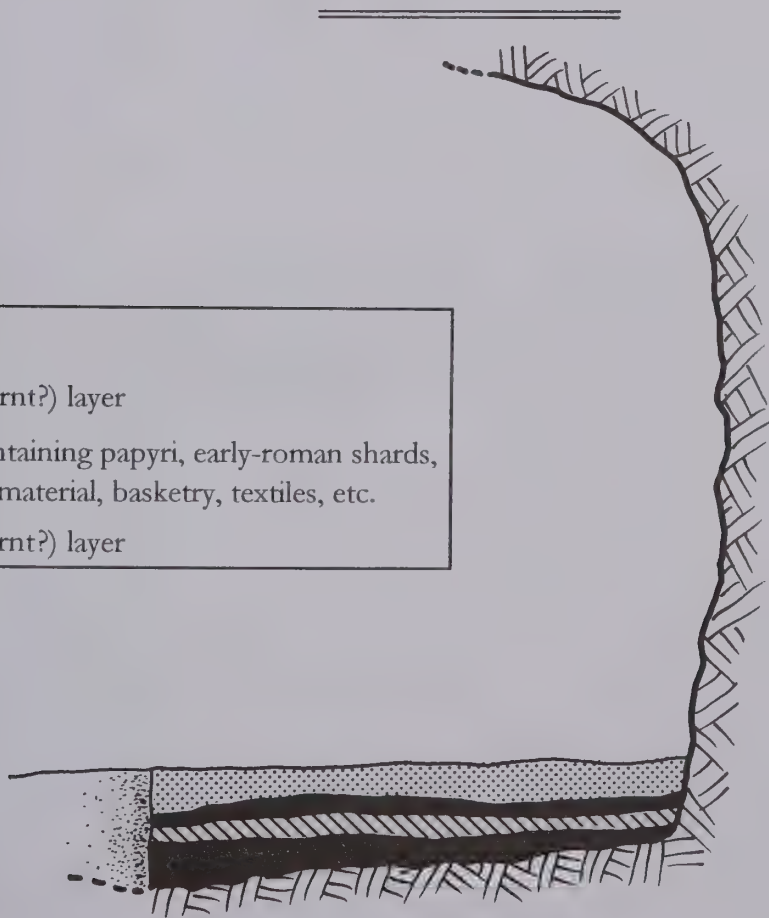


A. Section: Large Cave Complex  
B. Plan: Abi'or Cave



A

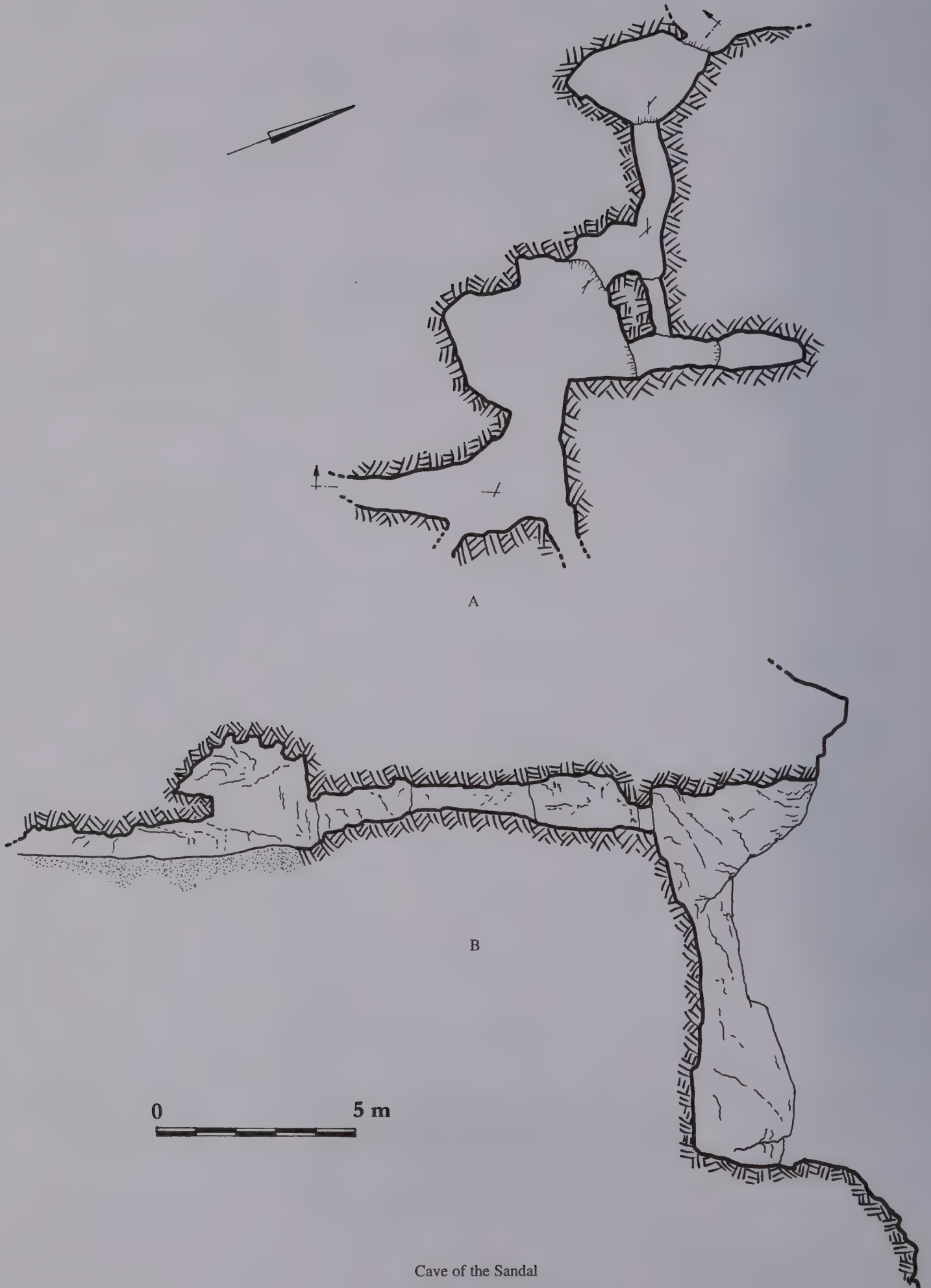
-  - L2 - top soil
-  - L6 - dark (burnt?) layer
-  - L7 - layer containing papyri, early-roman shards, organic material, basketry, textiles, etc.
-  - L8 - dark (burnt?) layer



B

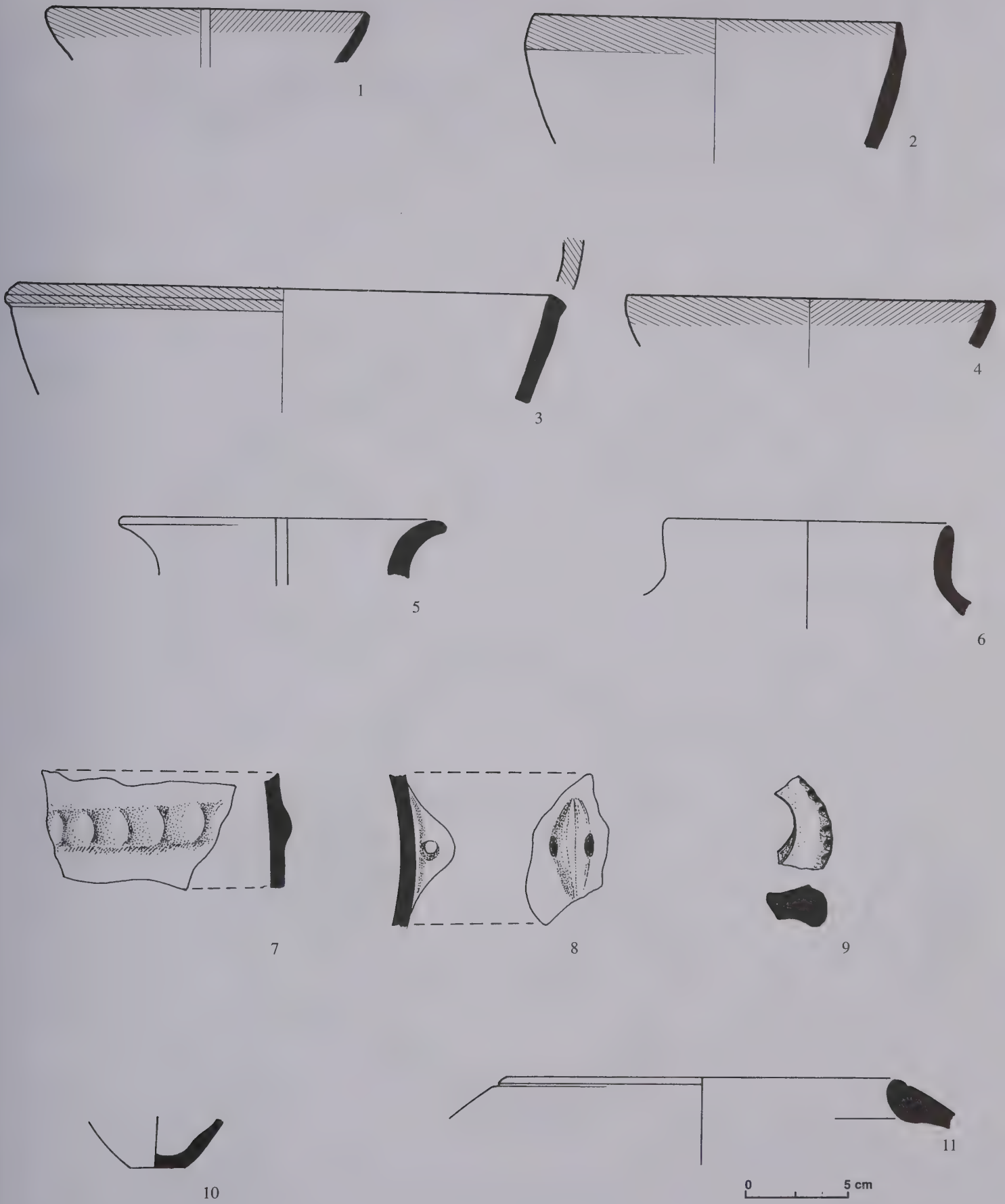
A. Section: Abi'or Cave and Large Cave Complex  
B. Stratification of Area A

Fig. 6



Cave of the Sandal

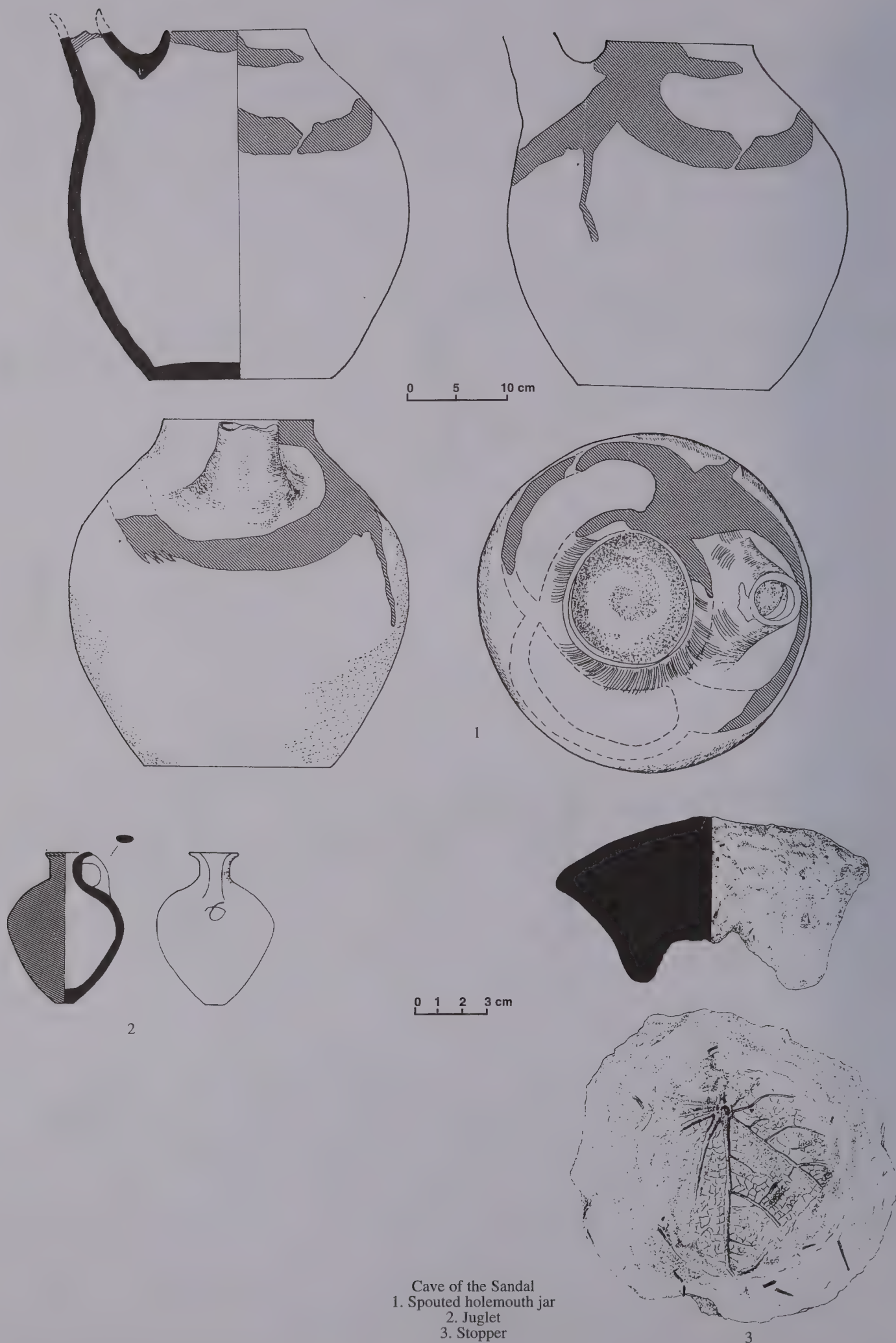
A. Plan  
B. Section



Abi'or Cave:  
Chalcolithic and Early Bronze pottery

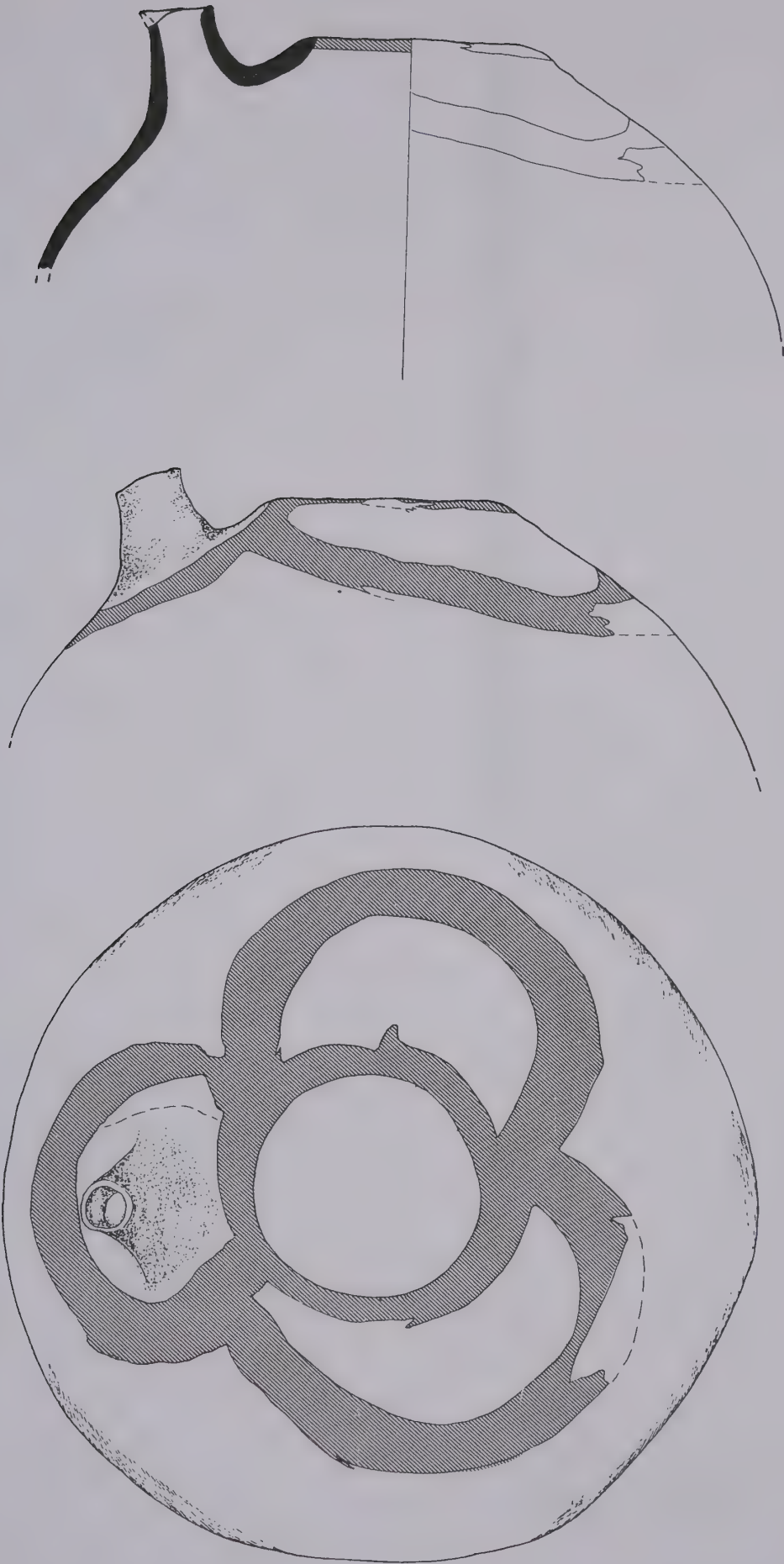


Fig. 8



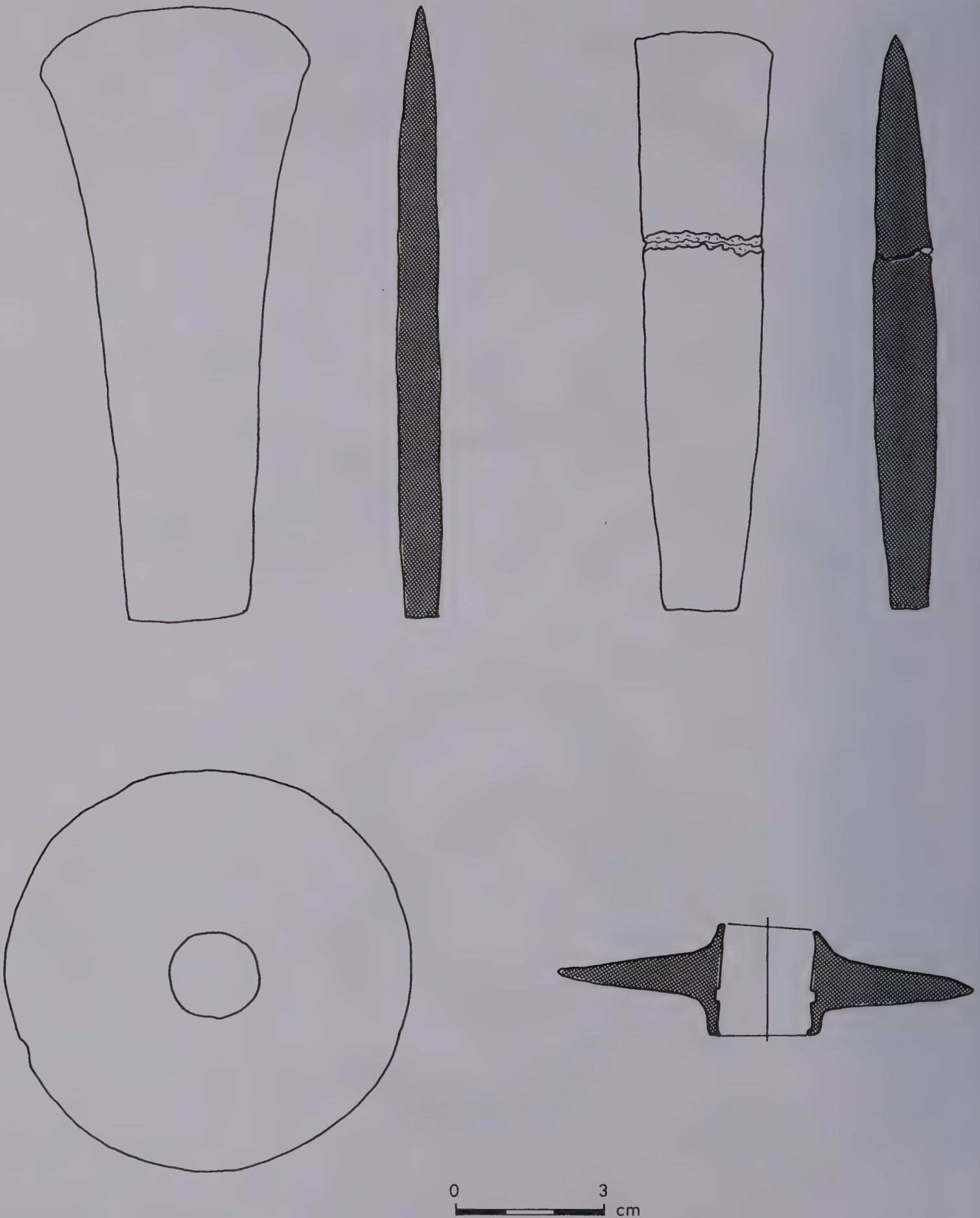
Cave of the Sandal  
1. Spouted holemouth jar  
2. Juglet  
3. Stopper

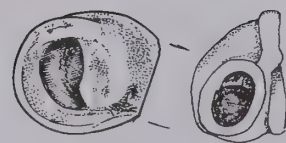
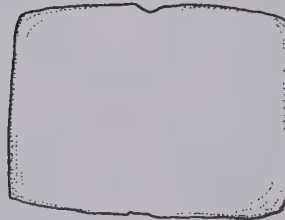
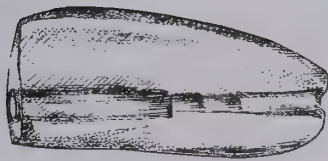
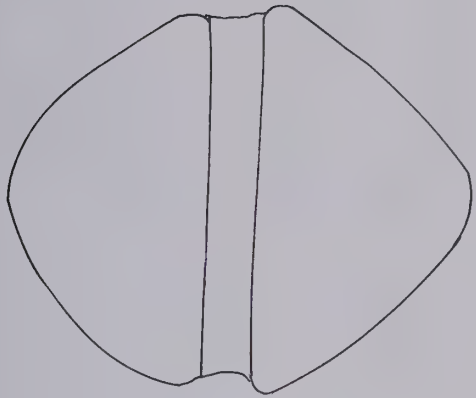
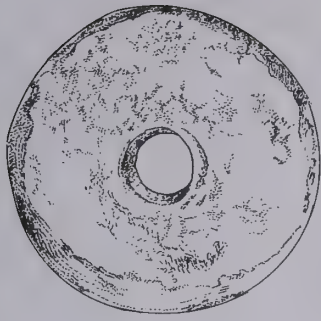




Cave of the Sandal:  
Spouted holemouth jar

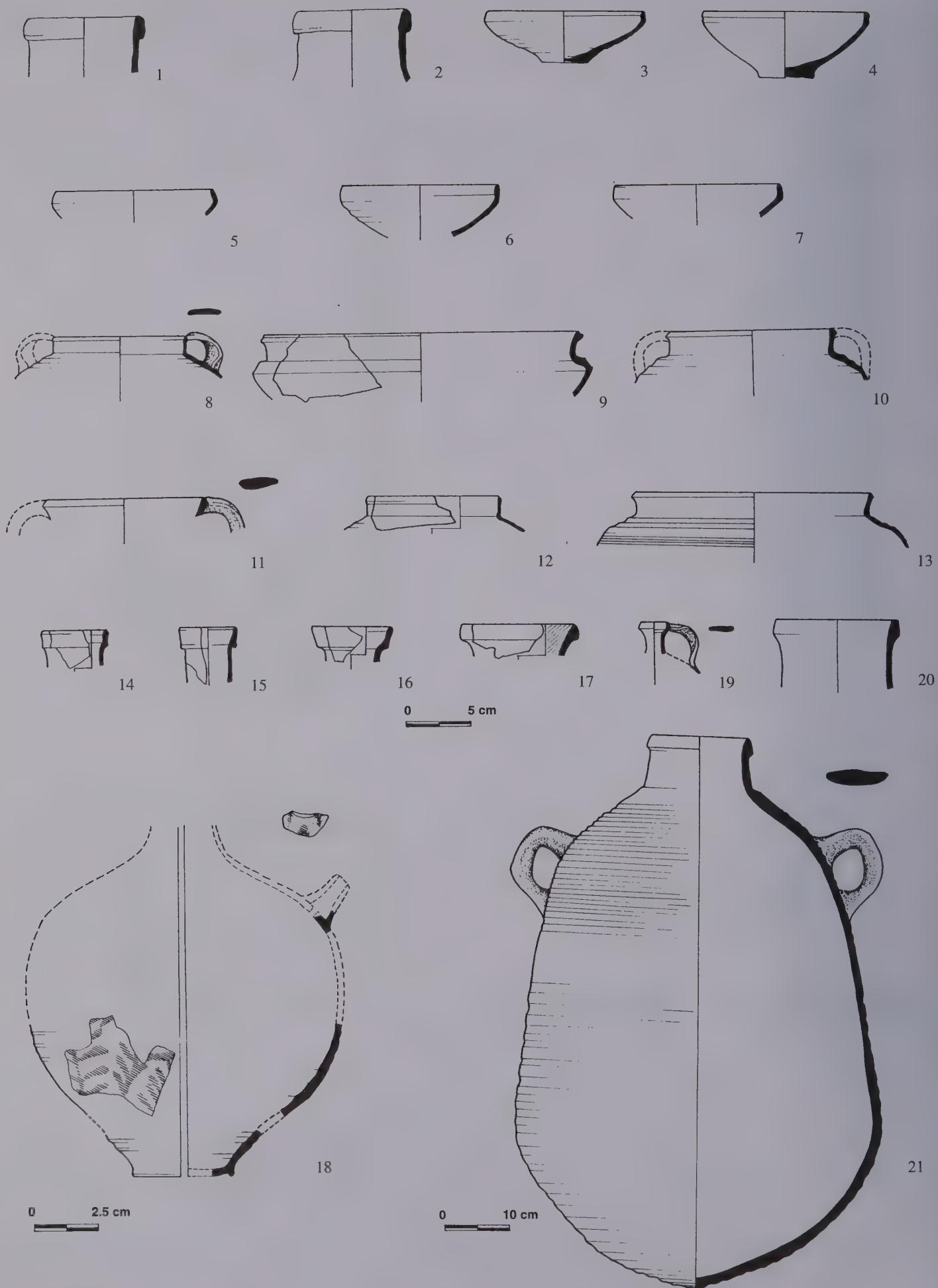
Fig. 10





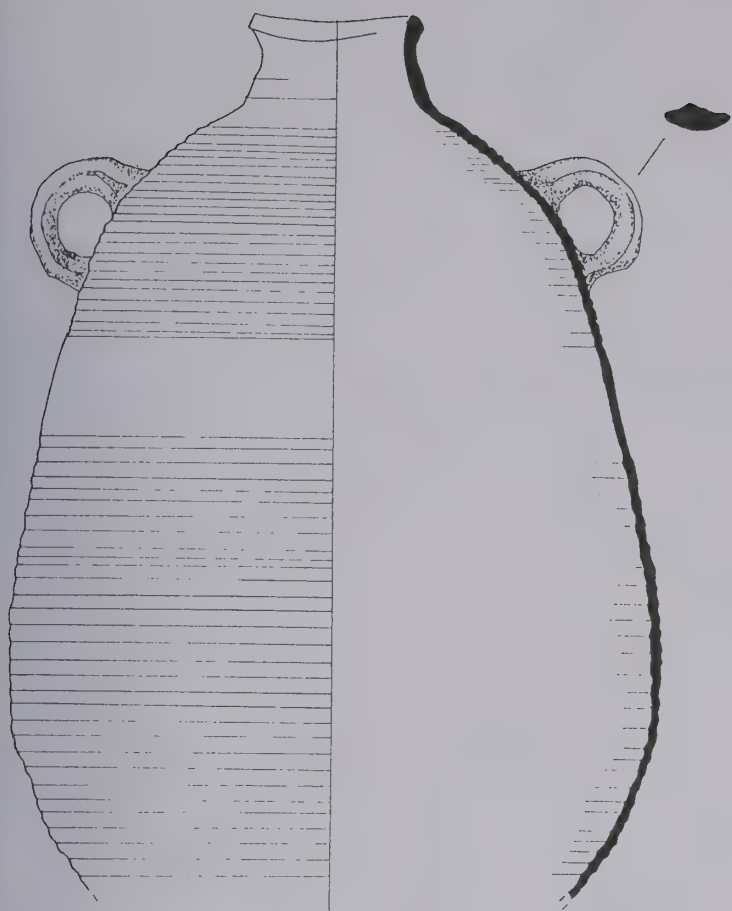
0 2 cm

Fig. 12



Abi'or Cave  
1-2. Fourth Century BCE jar rims  
3-21. Early Roman pottery





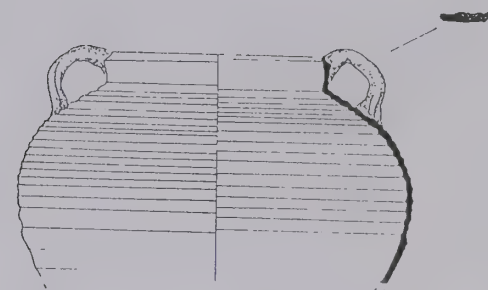
1



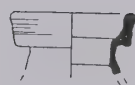
2



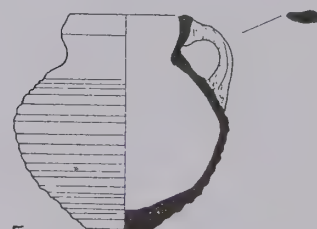
3



4



6

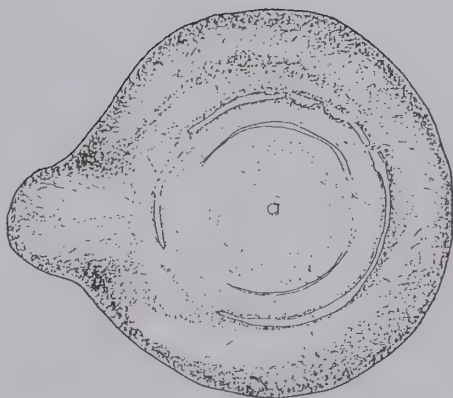


5

0 5 cm



7



8

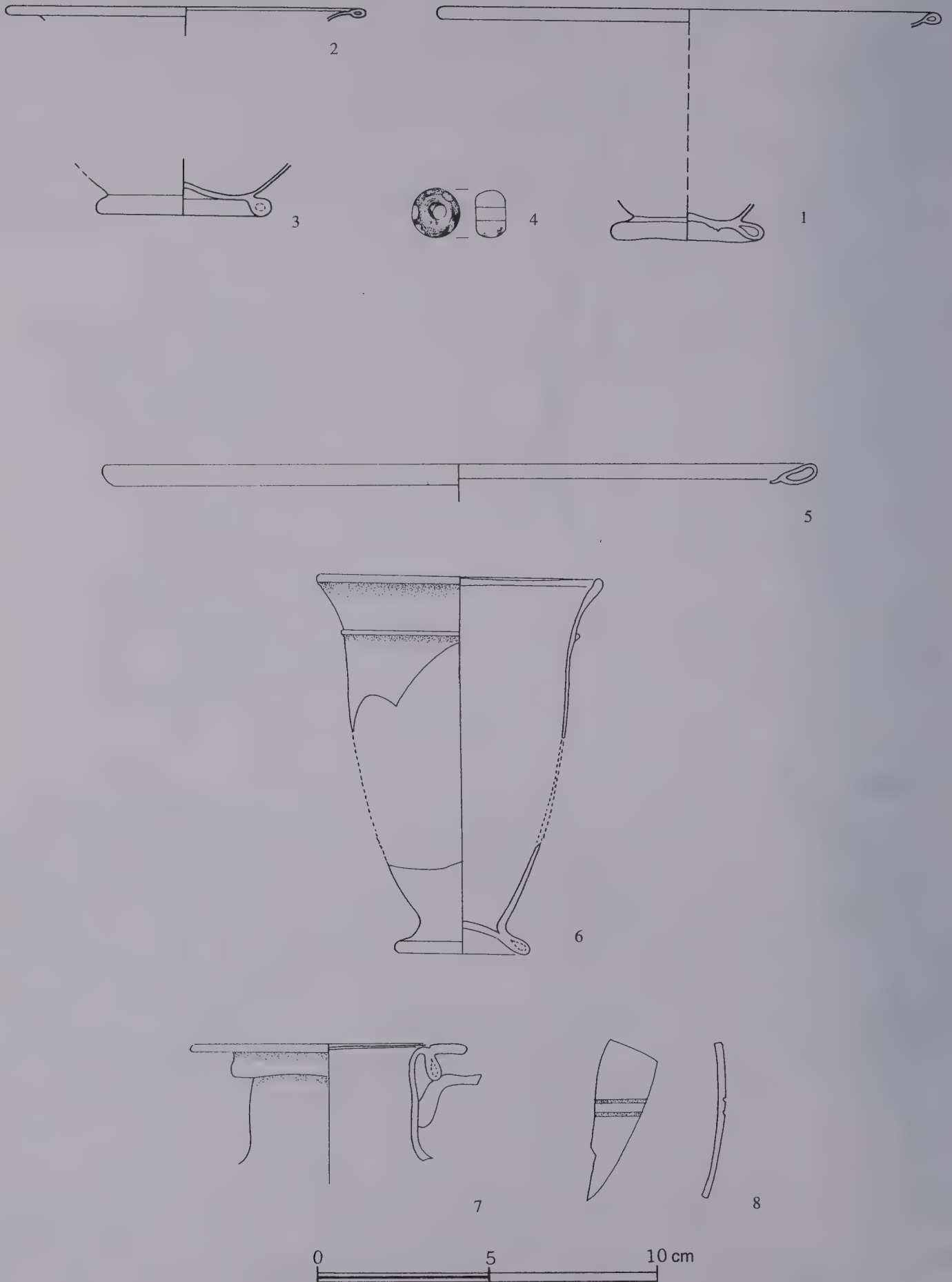
0 2 cm



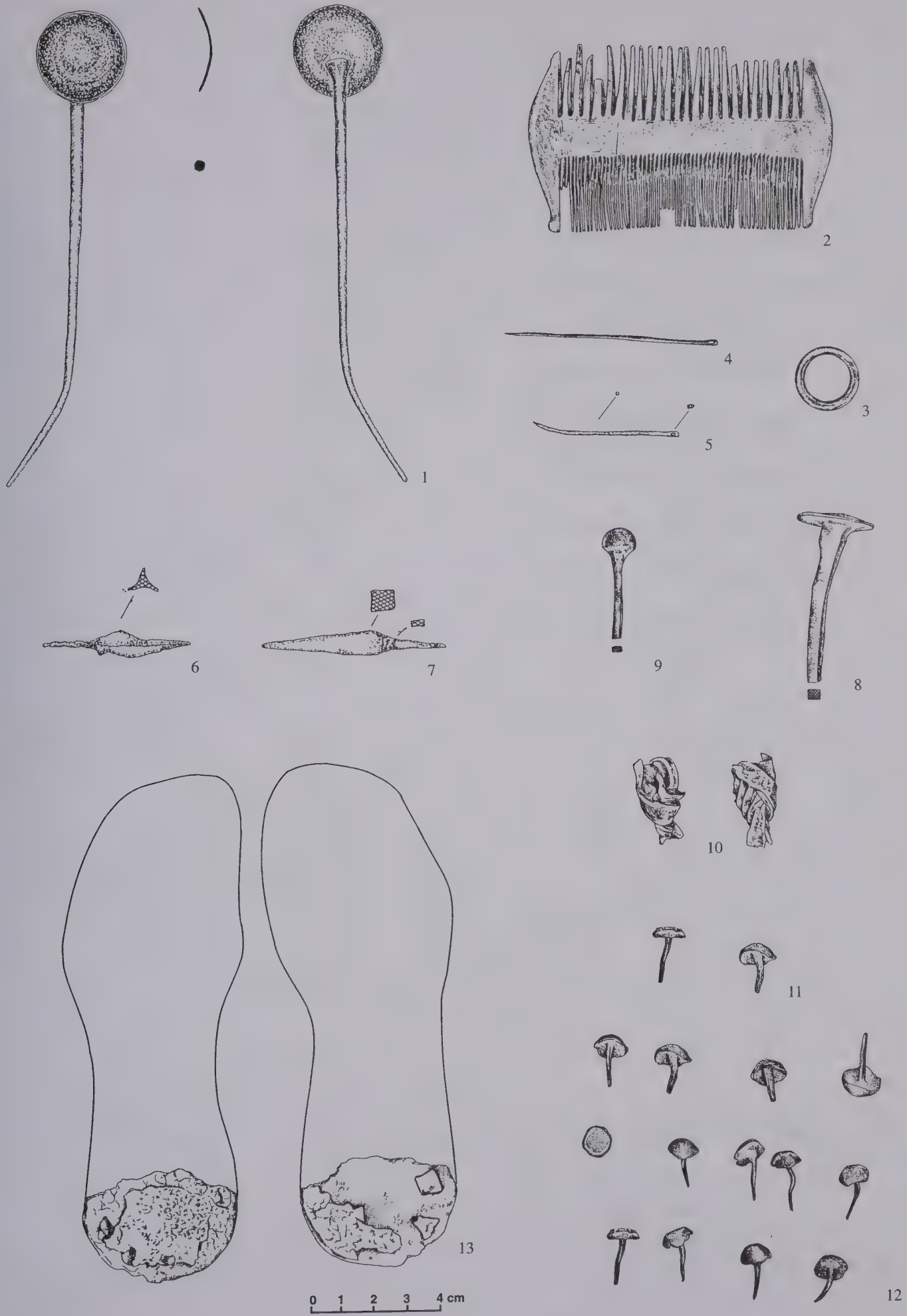
Cave of the Sandal:  
Early Roman pottery



Fig. 14

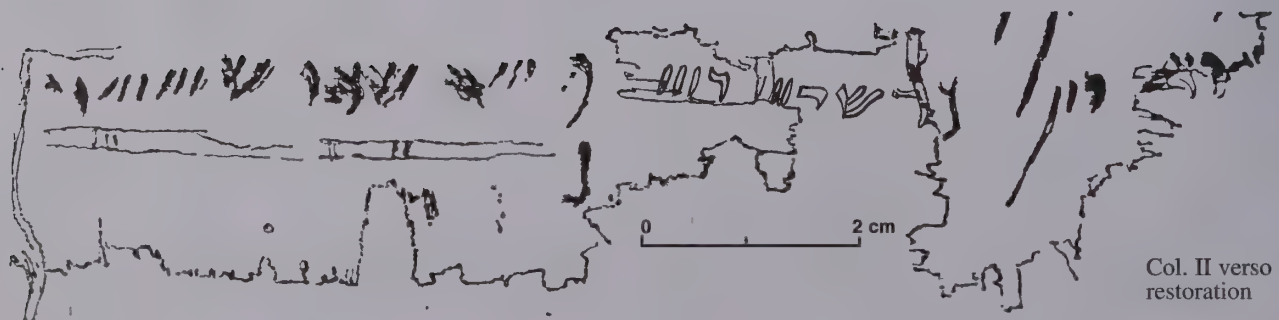
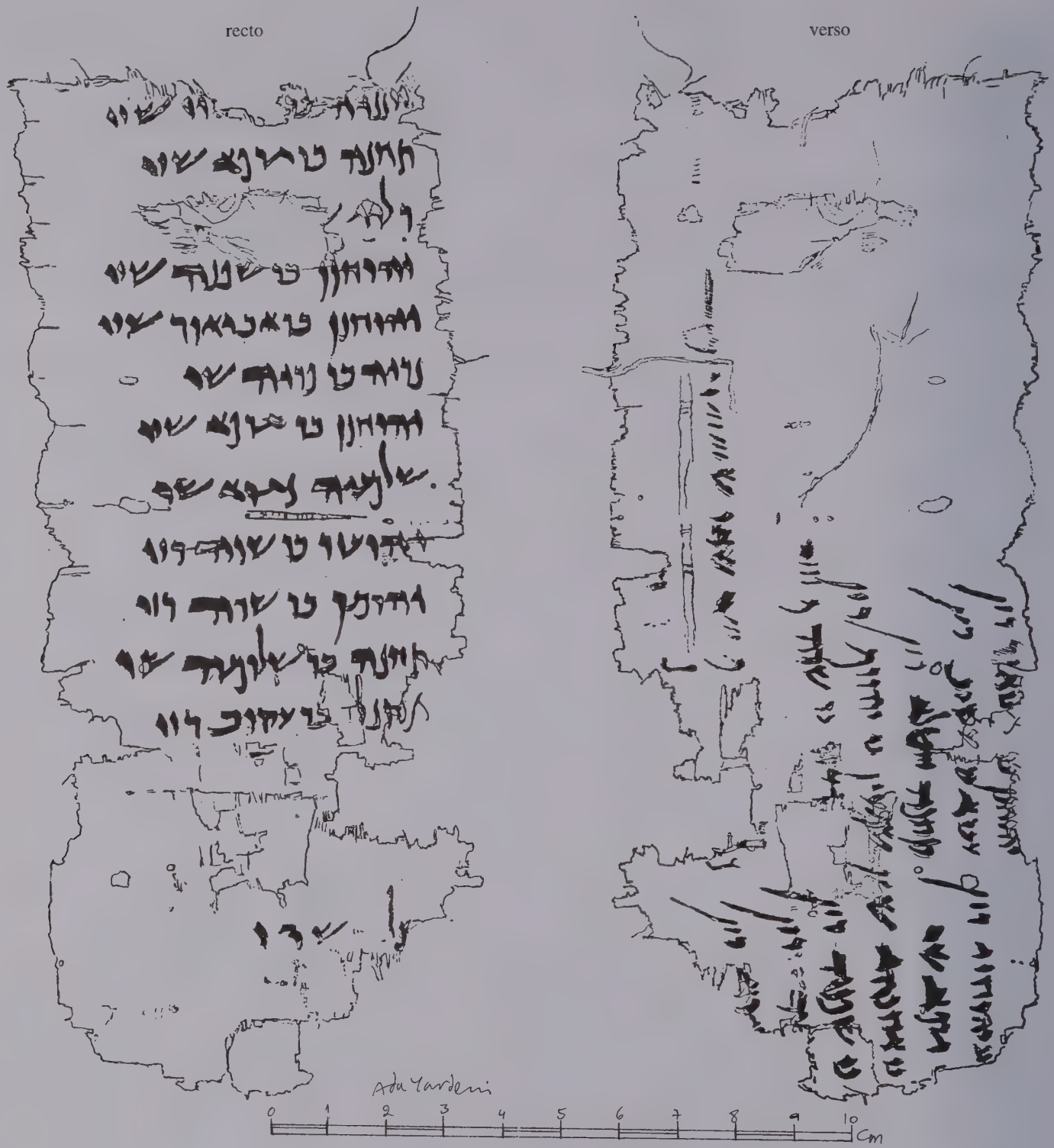


Abi'or Cave and Cave of the Sandal:  
Glass artifacts



Abi'or Cave and Cave of the Sandal:  
Early Roman artifacts

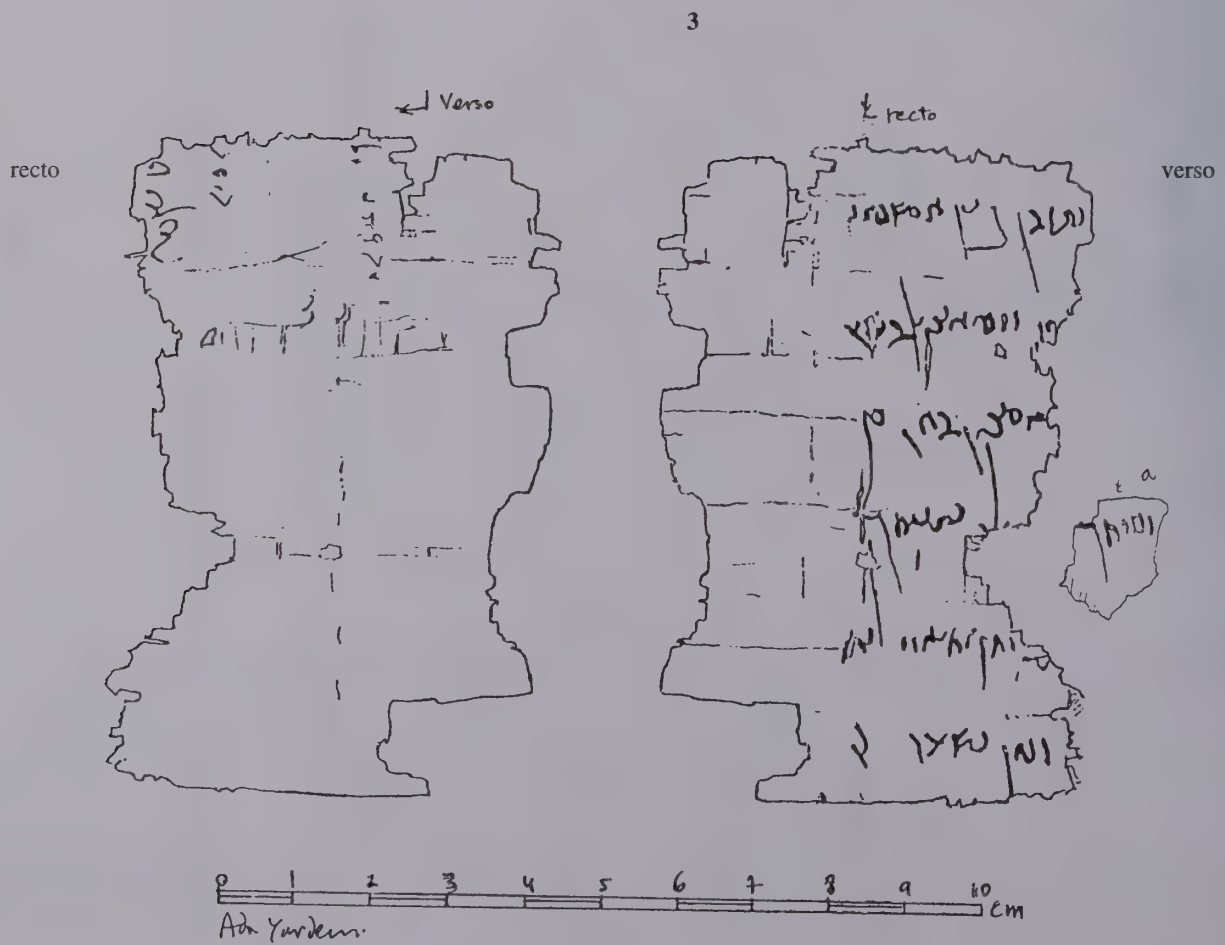
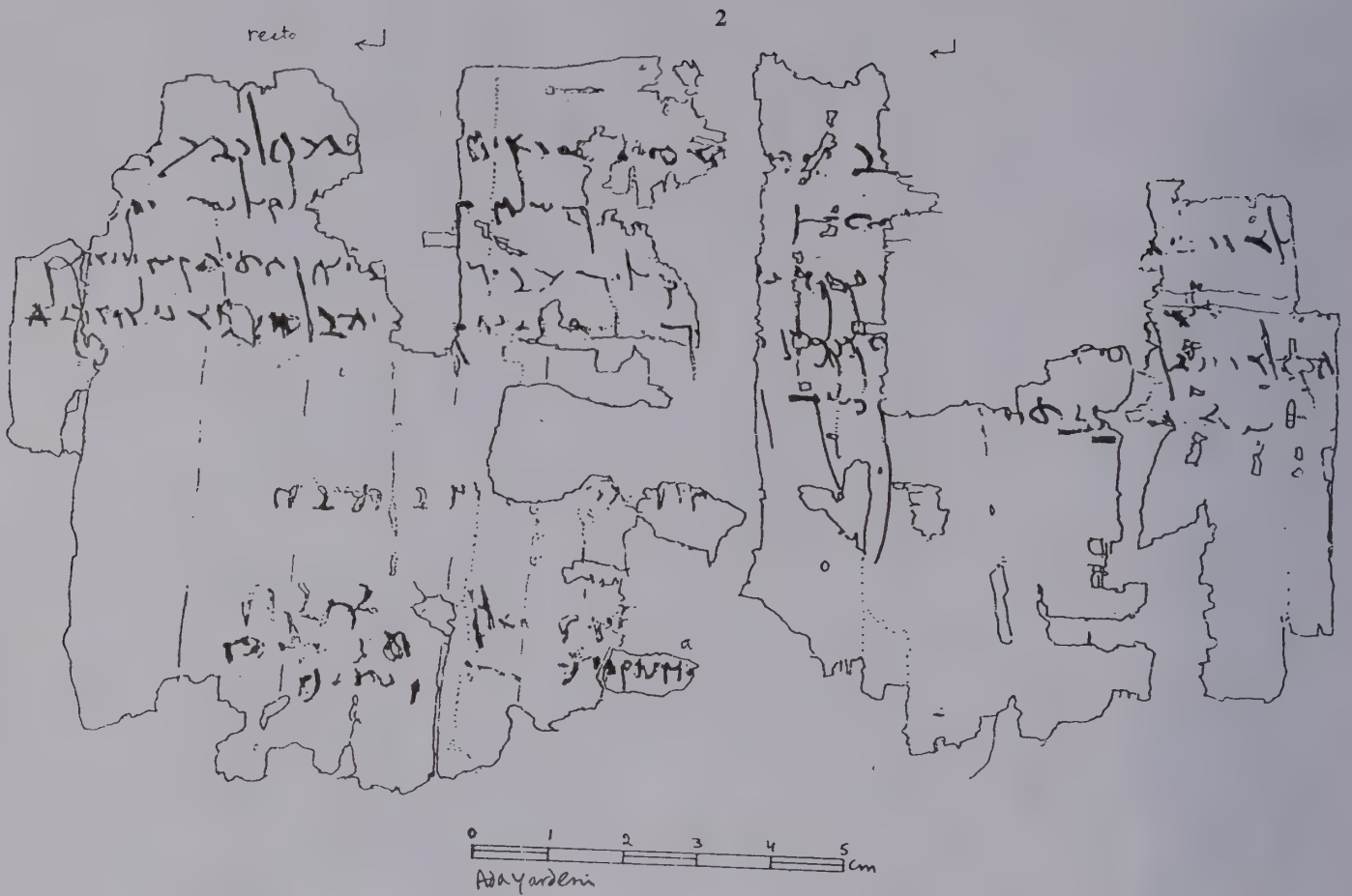
Fig. 16



1. Jericho papList of Loans ar



Fig. 18

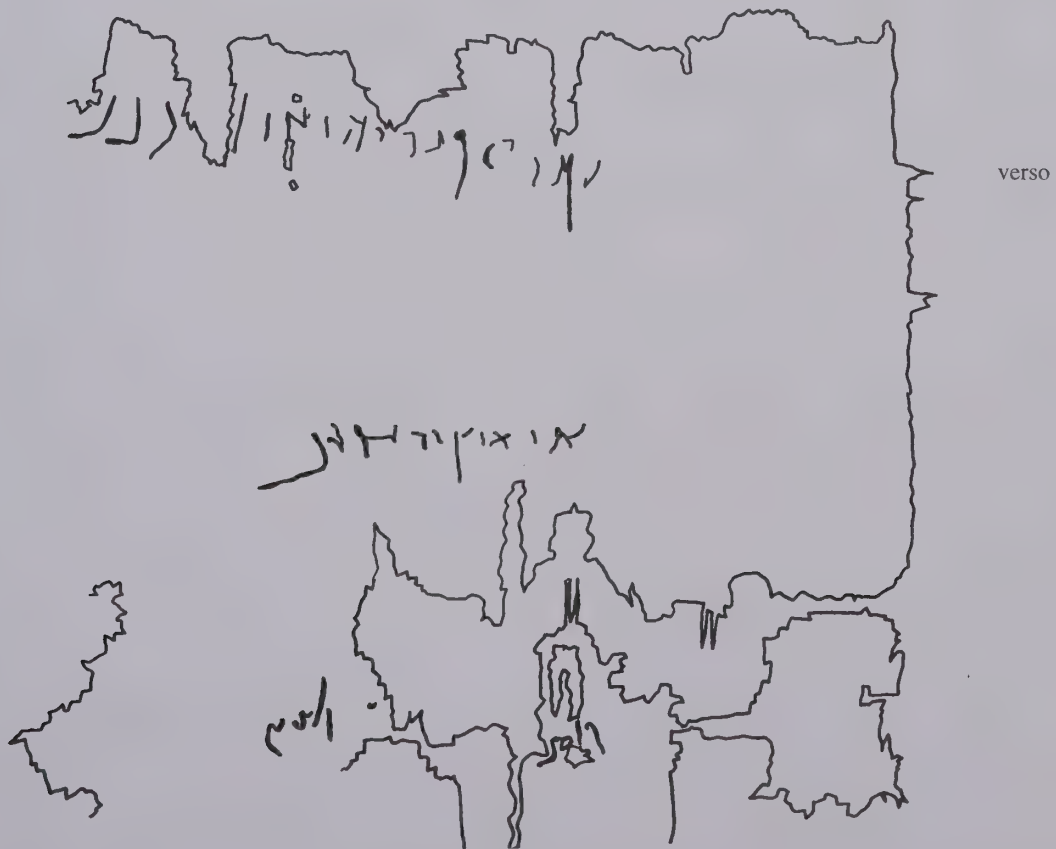
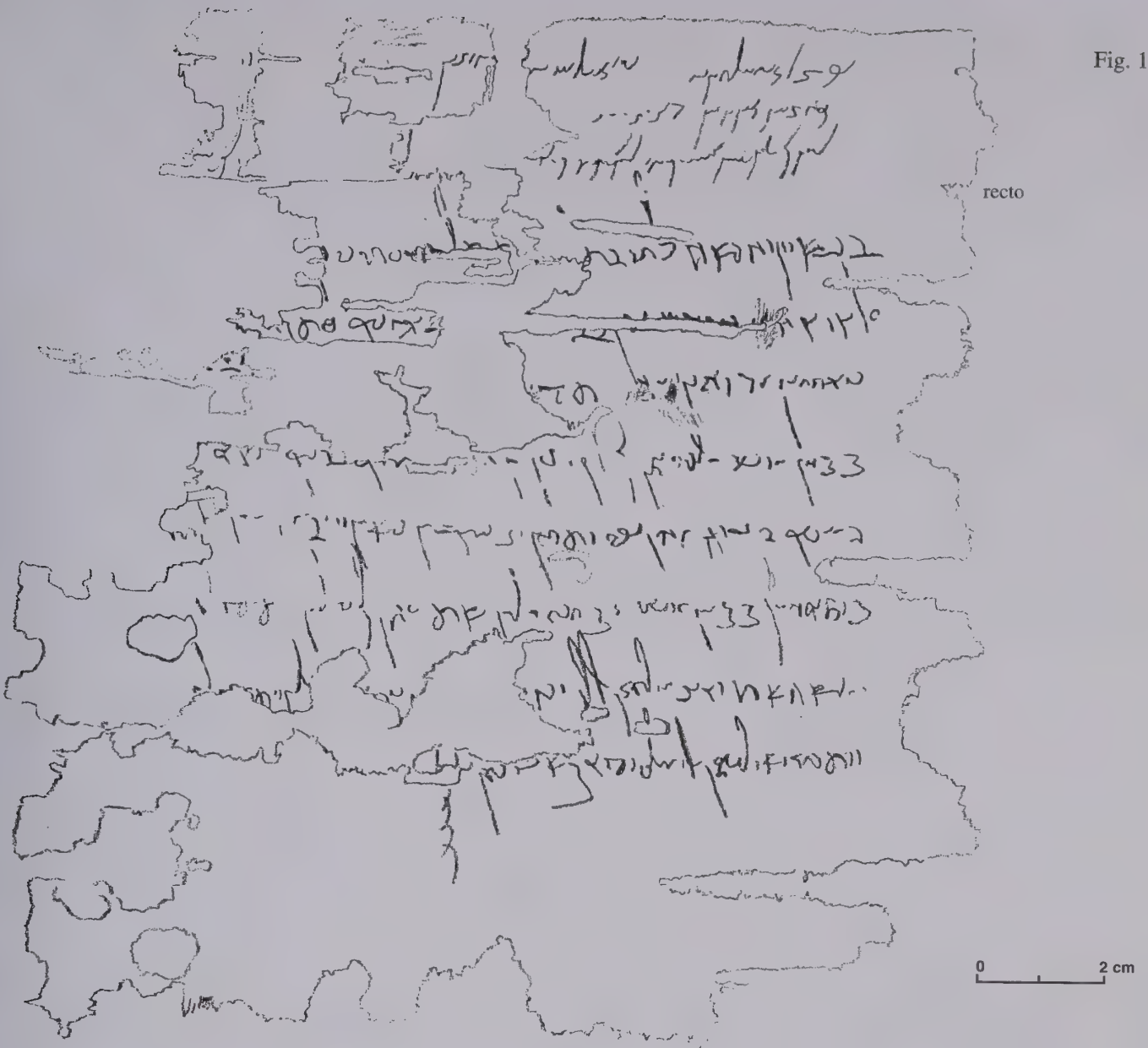


2. Jericho pap. Deed of Sale or Lease ar

3. Jericho pap. Deed of Sale ar



Fig. 19



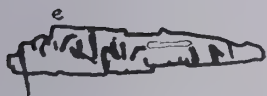
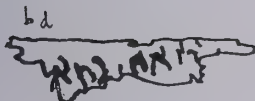
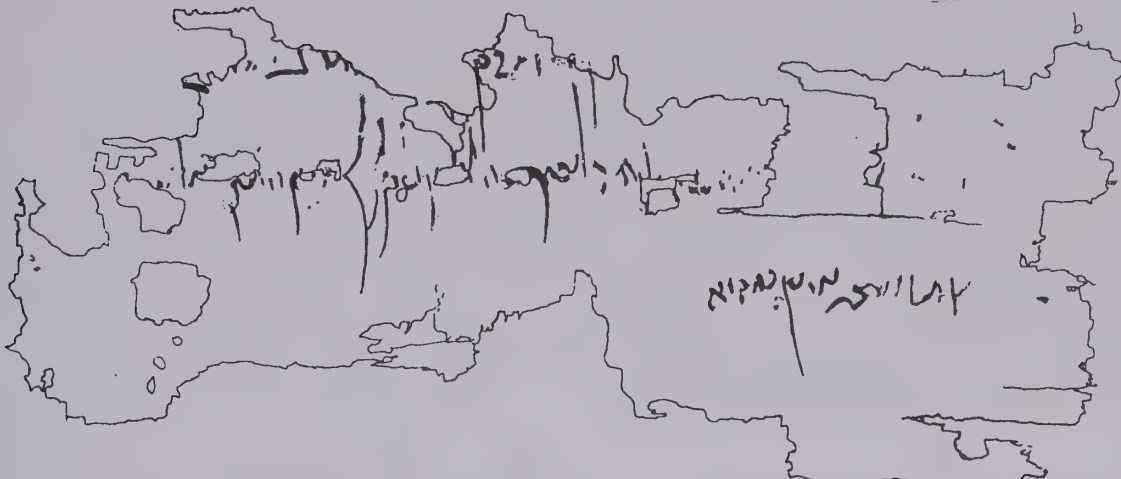
7. Jericho papyrus Sale of Date Crop ar

Fig. 20

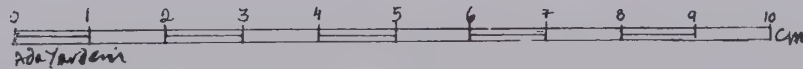
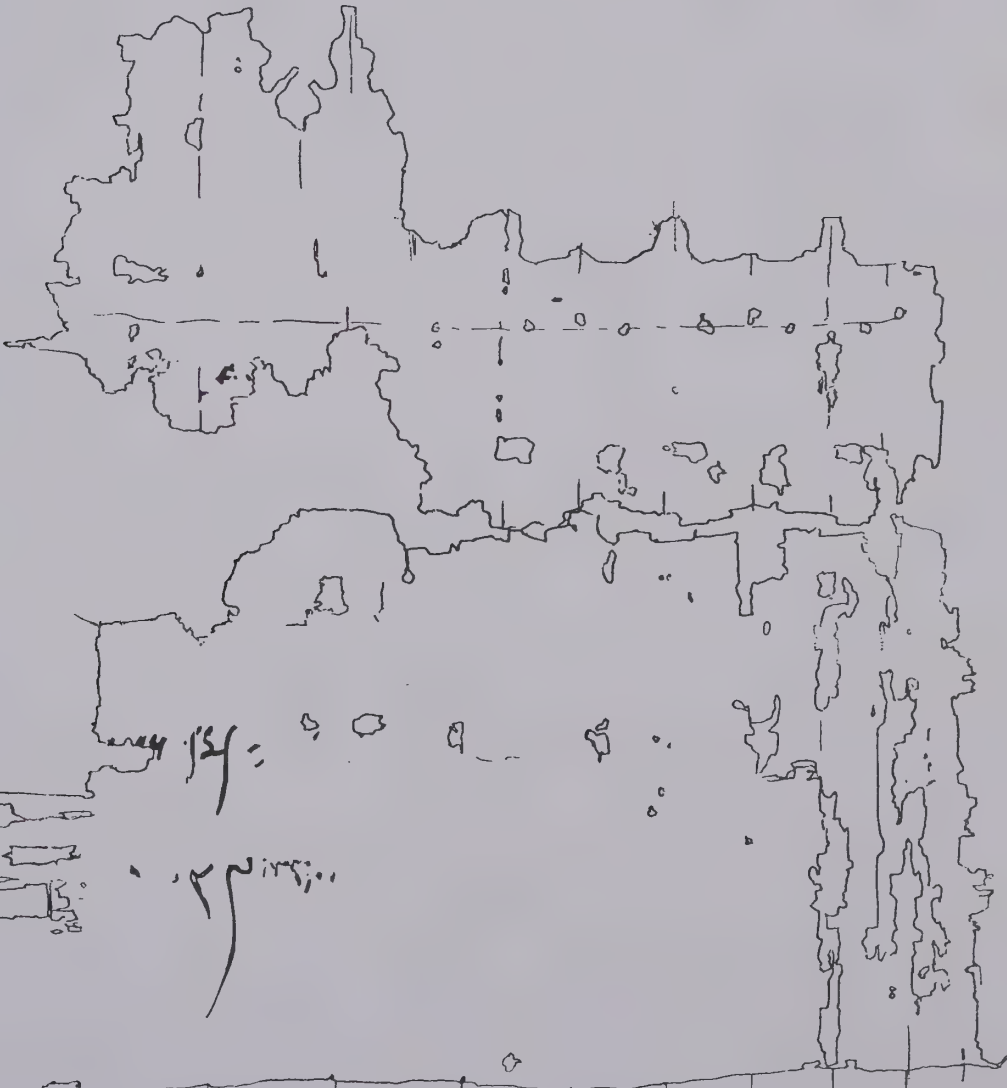
⋪⋪	Ⓐ
22 22	Ⓑ
?	Ⓒ
222	Ⓓ
1	Ⓔ
22	Ⓚ
? 222	Ⓛ
4 33 }	Ⓜ
2222	Ⓝ
2 2 2 2 2 2	Ⓖ
2 2 2	Ⓞ
2	Ⓟ
22222 2	Ⓢ
22 22?	Ⓣ



8



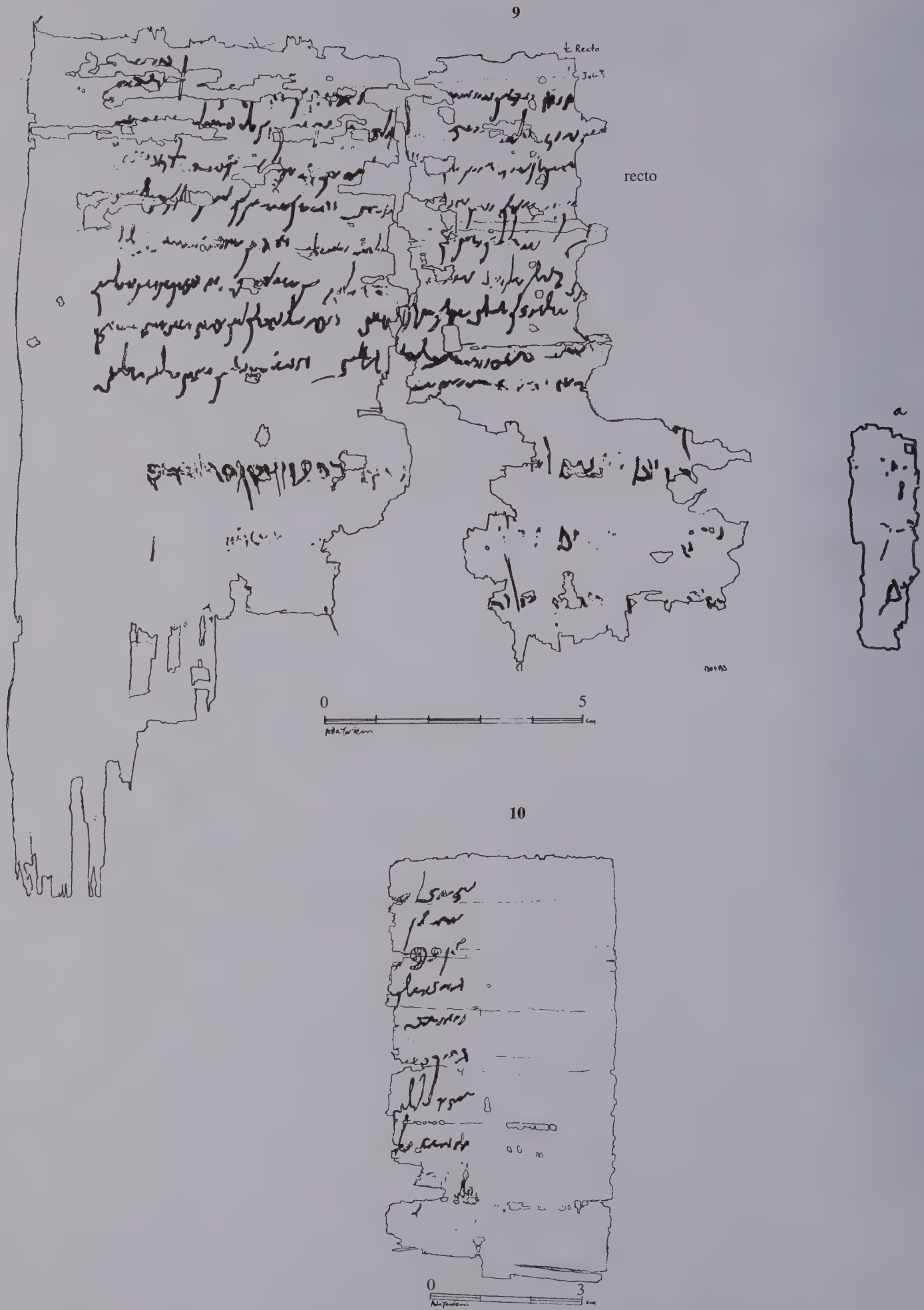
9  
verso



8. Jericho papDeed A ar

9. Jericho papDeed A heb?

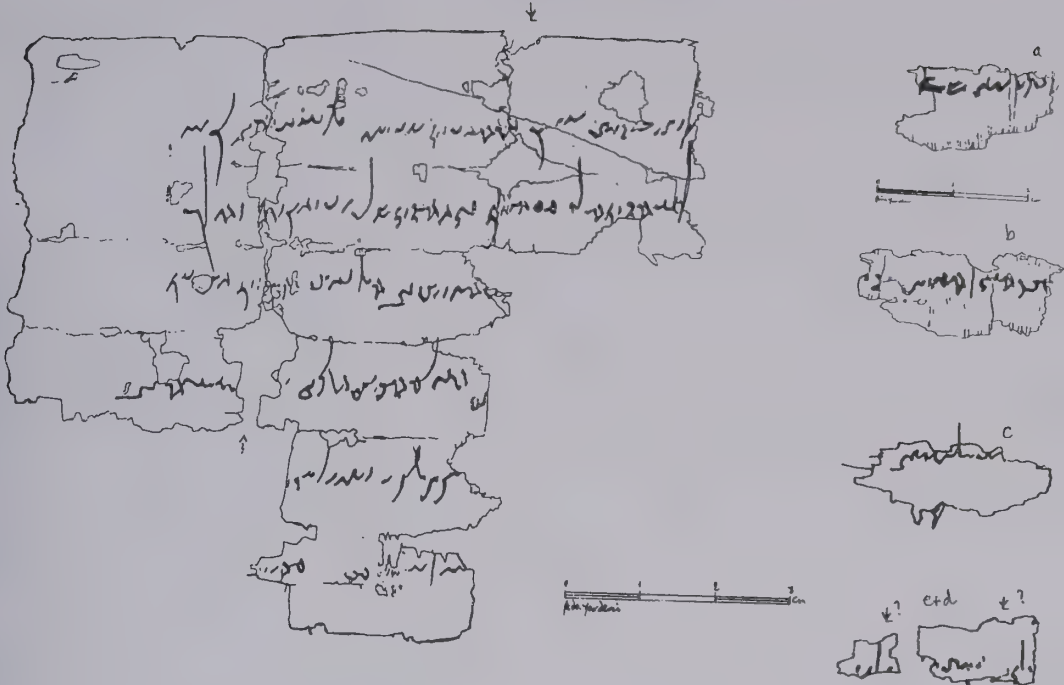
Fig. 22



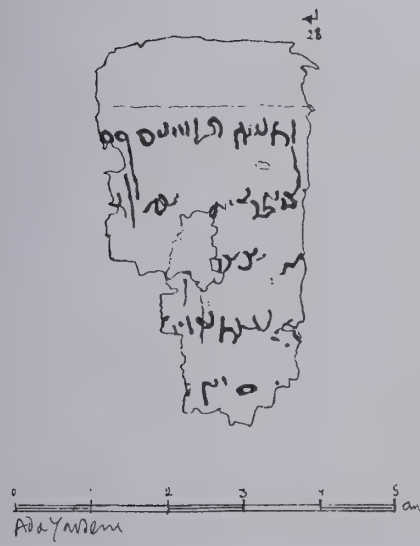
9. Jericho papDeed A heb?

10. Jericho papDeed B heb?

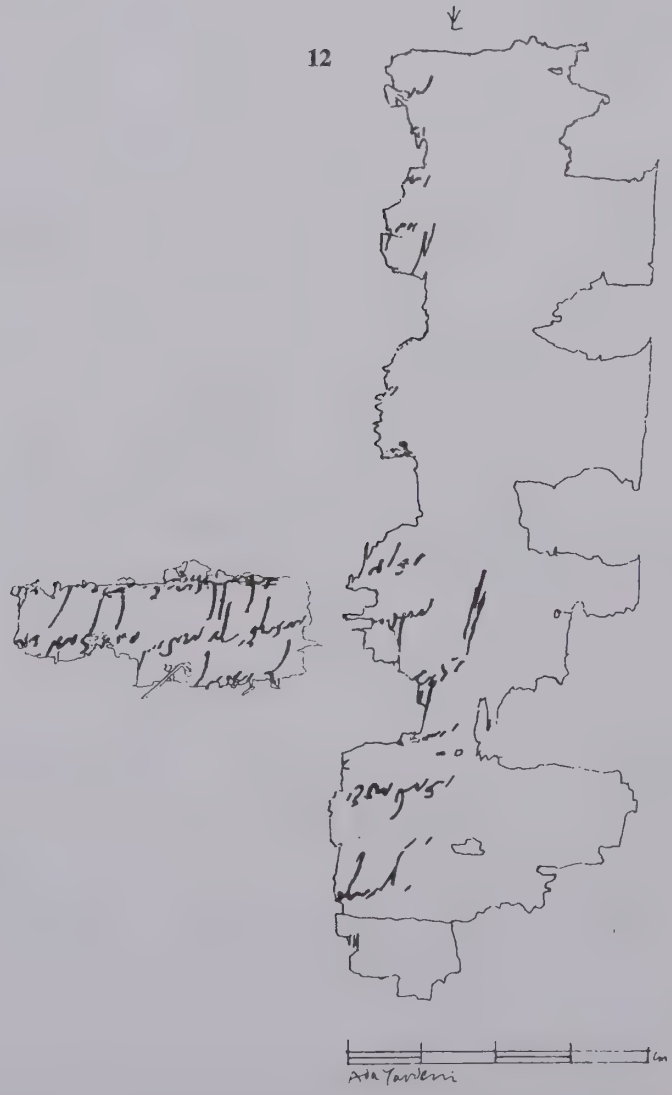
11



13



12



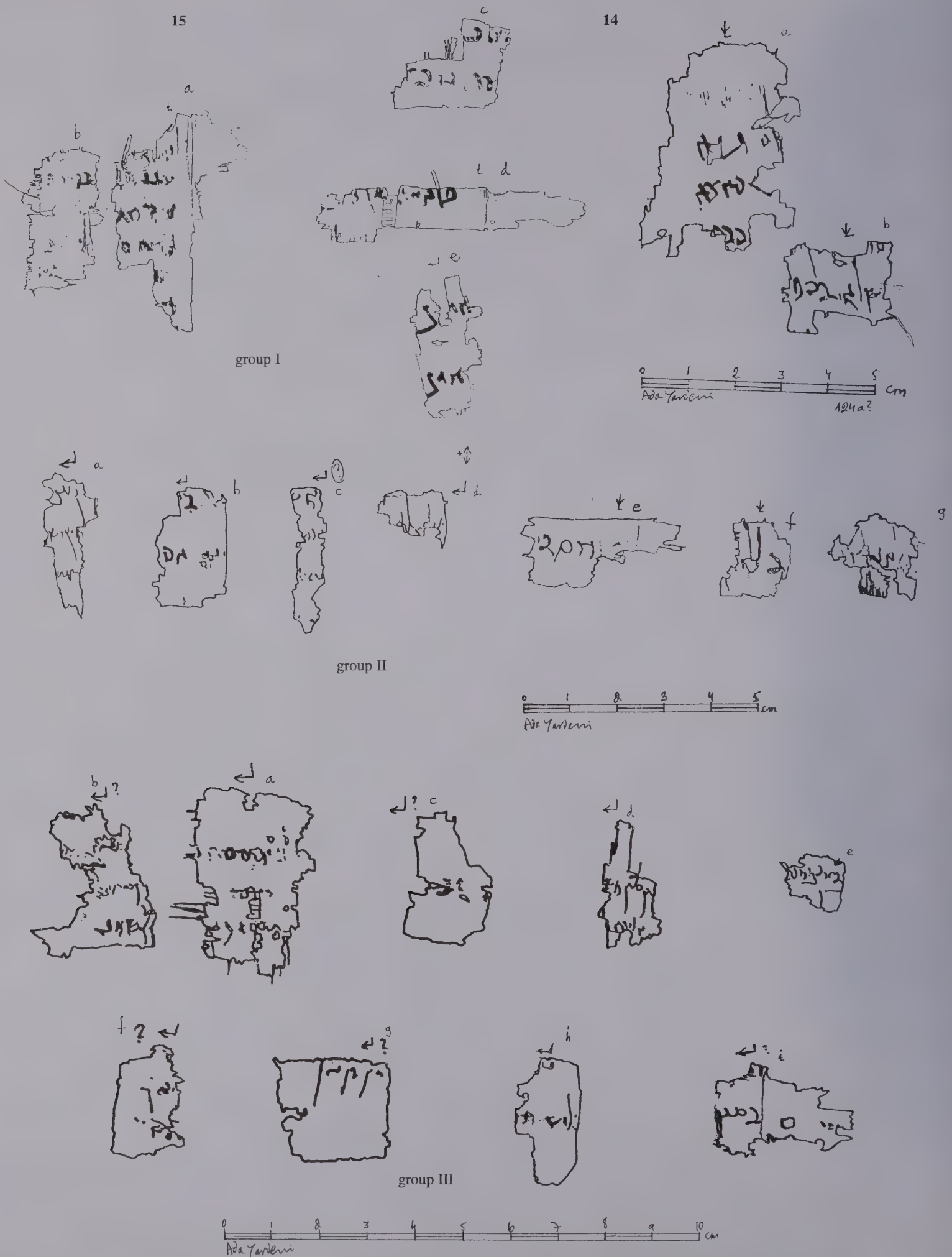
11. Jericho papDeed or Letter

12. Jericho papDeed B ar

13. Jericho papUnclassified Text ar



Fig. 24



14. Jericho papUnclassified Text heb?

15. Jericho papUnclassified Fragments ar/heb

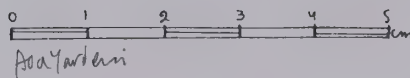
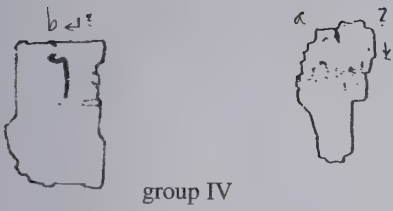
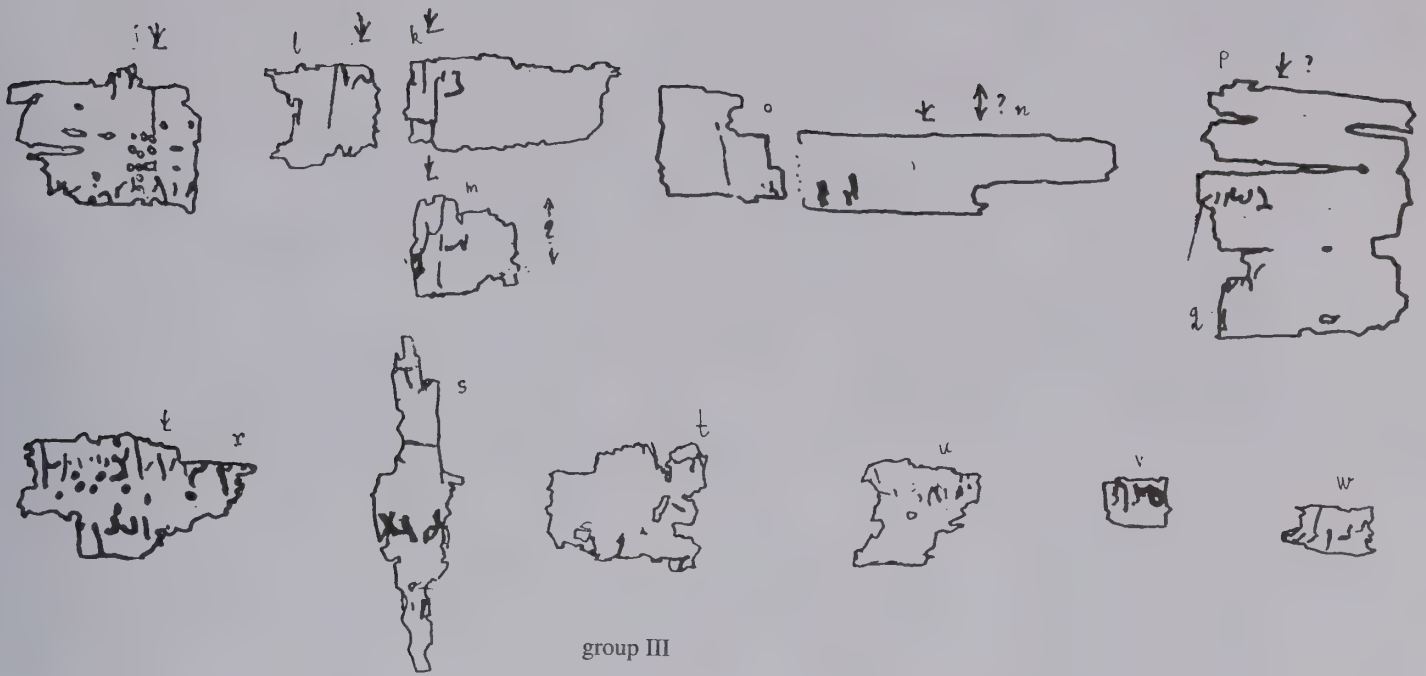
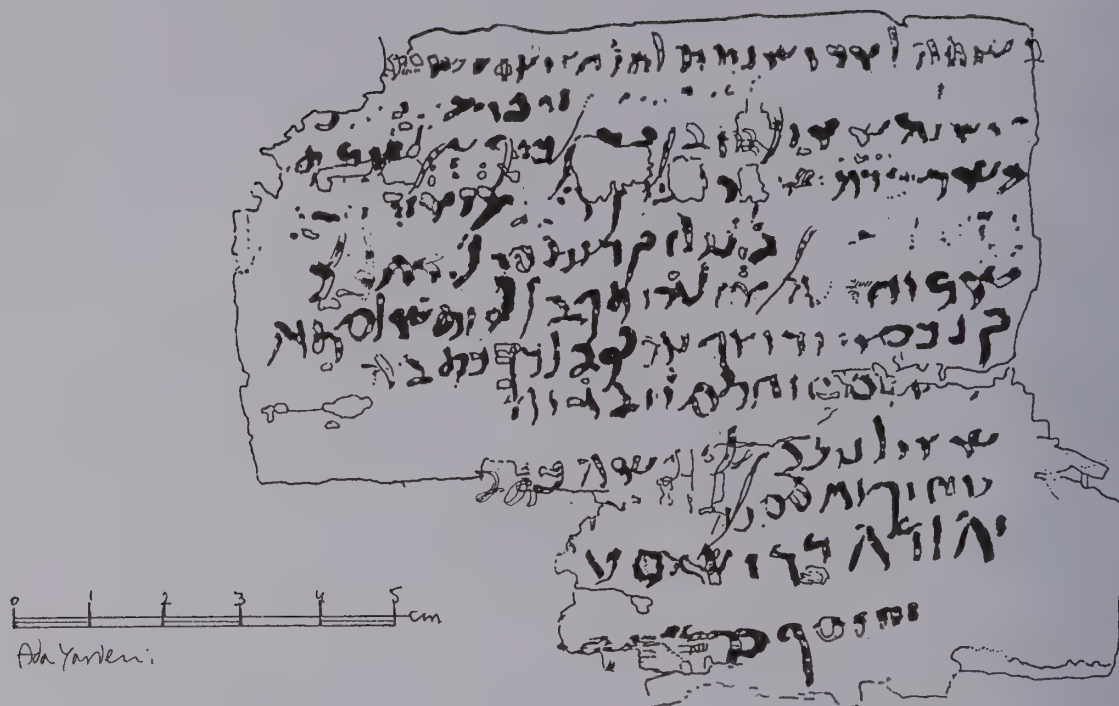


Fig. 26





1

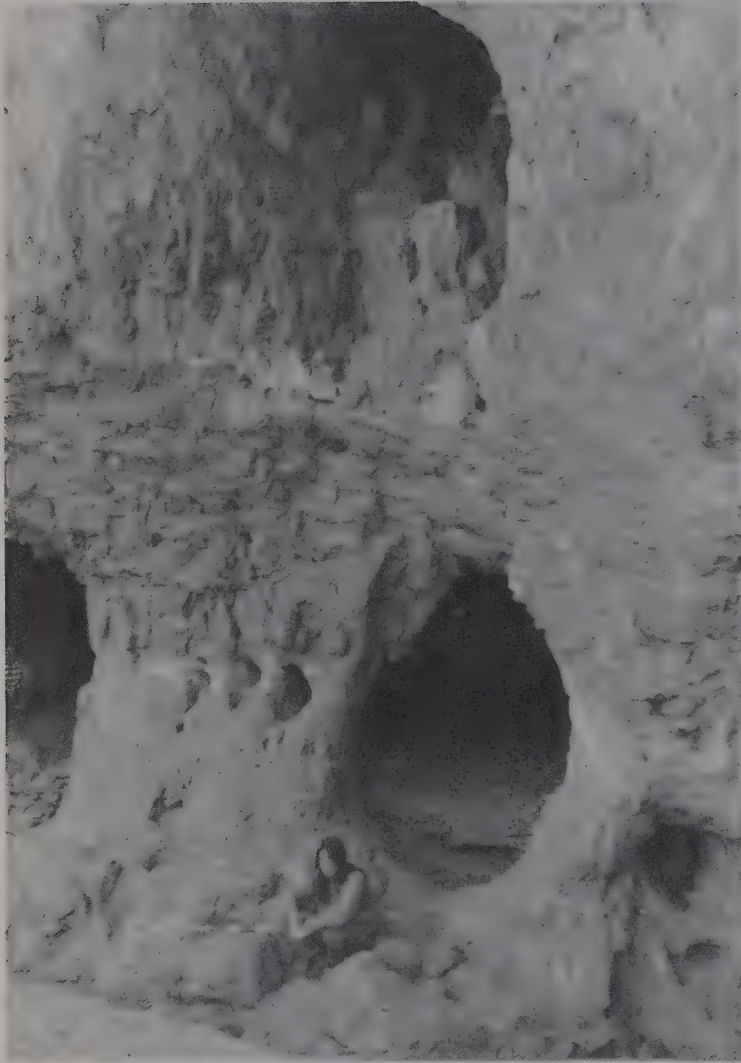


2

1. View of Ketef Jericho from the east

2. View looking southeast from above the Douka Monastery





1



2

1. Area A after excavation. The lower entrance to the Abi'or Cave can be seen in the upper part

2. Entrance to the Cave of the Sandal





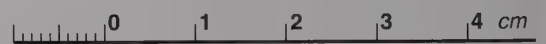
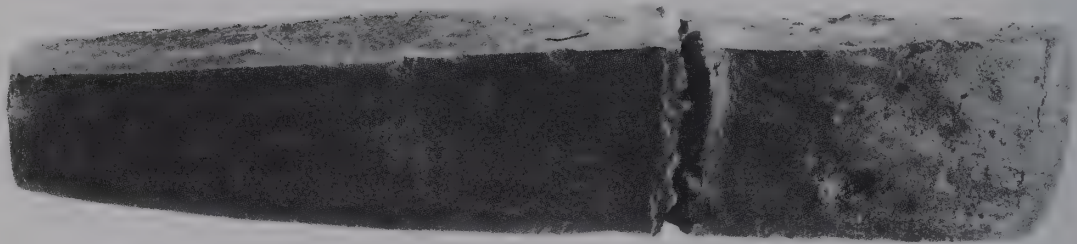
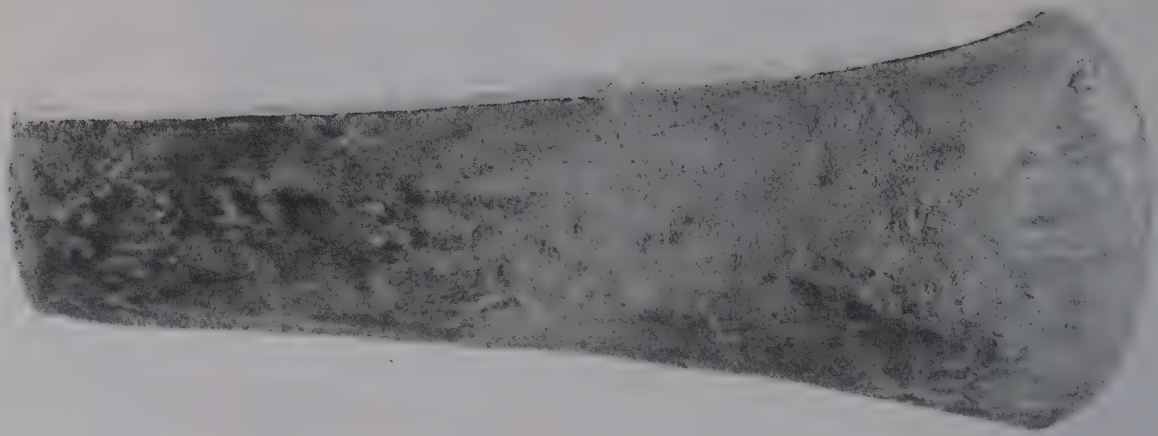
1



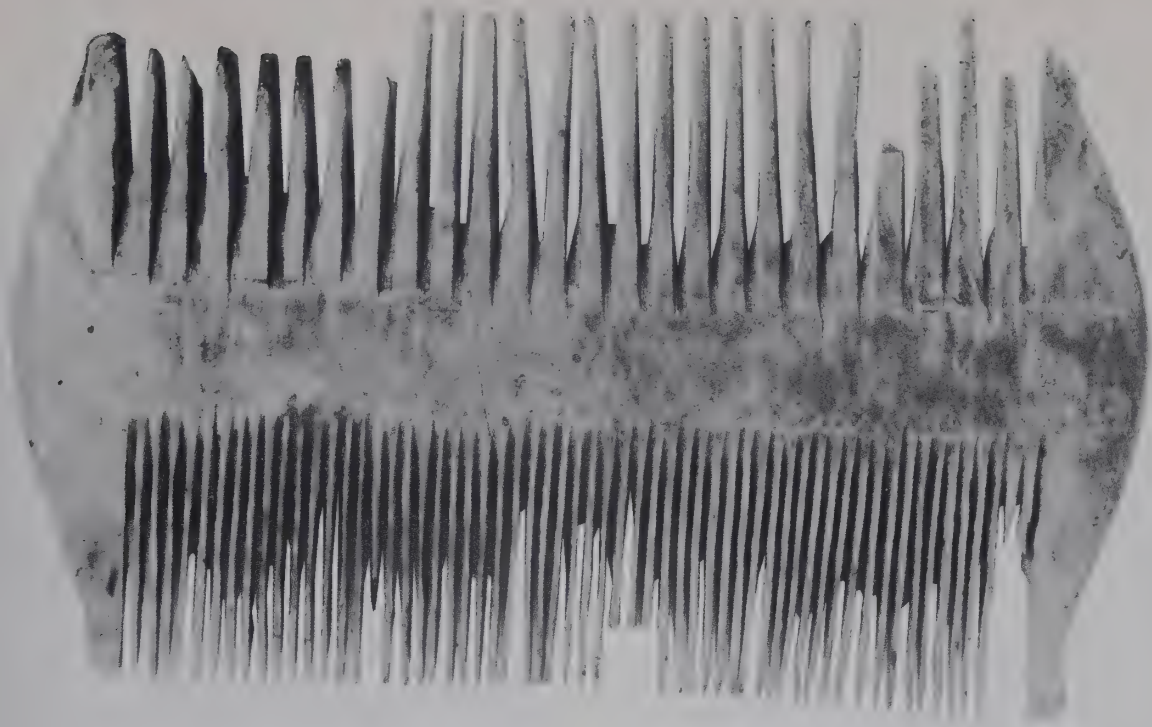
2

1. Terrace, locus 1

2. Papyrus, *in situ*, below the Abi'or Cave



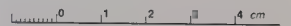
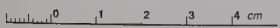




1



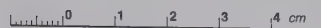
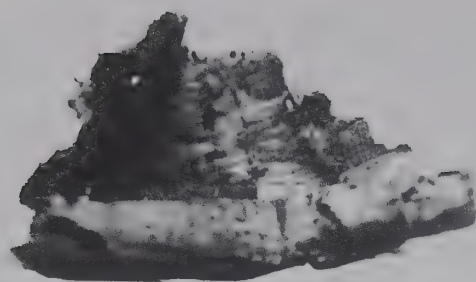
2



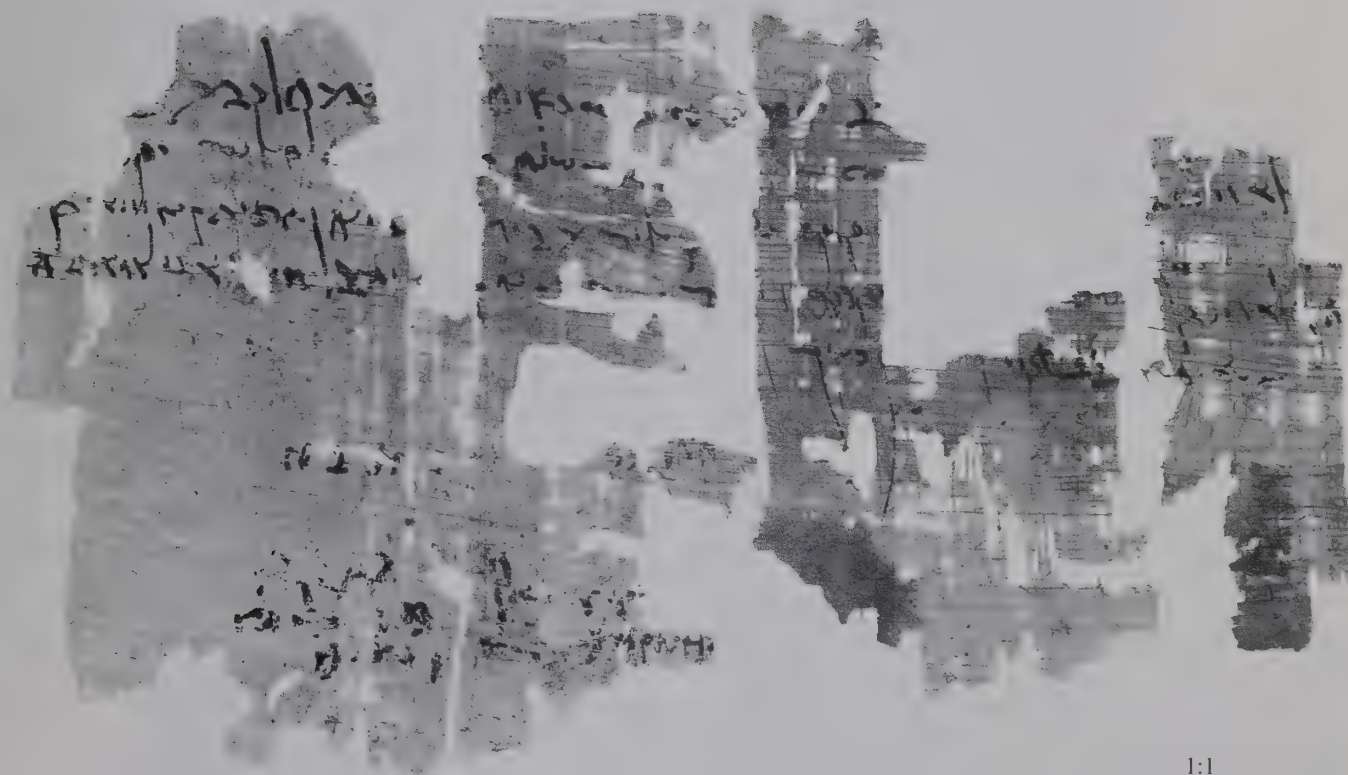




1



2



1:1

1. Jericho papList of Loans ar before opening

2. Jericho papDeed of Sale of Lease ar  
IAA 700191; Mus. Inv. K10212, K29368



Handwritten text in Aramaic script on the recto side of the papyrus fragment. The text is arranged in several lines, though some characters are obscured by the fragment's irregular shape and the image's graininess. Legible fragments include what appears to be a date or year at the top, followed by several lines of text that may include names and legal terms.

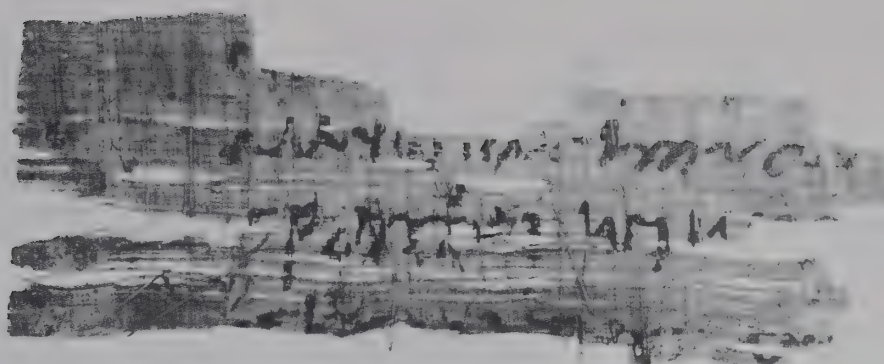
recto

78911

0 1 2 cm

Handwritten text in Aramaic script on the verso side of the papyrus fragment. The text is more densely packed and appears to be a continuation of the document on the recto side. It includes several lines of text, with some characters being difficult to discern due to the fragment's texture and the image quality.

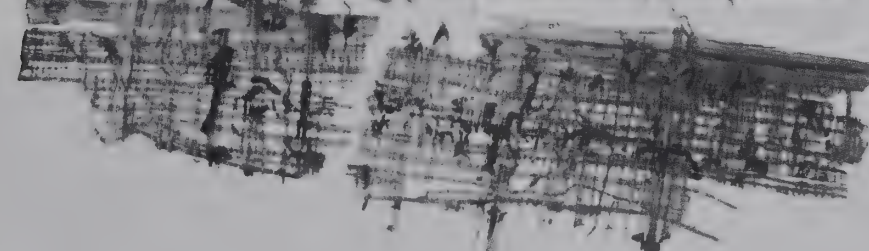
verso



a



b



c



d

4. Jericho pap. Deed of Sale or Lease? gr  
IAA 649788 (a), 649789 (b-d)  
Mus. Inv. K10210, K28556



5a-d

5a-d  
1364/99

a (1:1)

1364/99

b

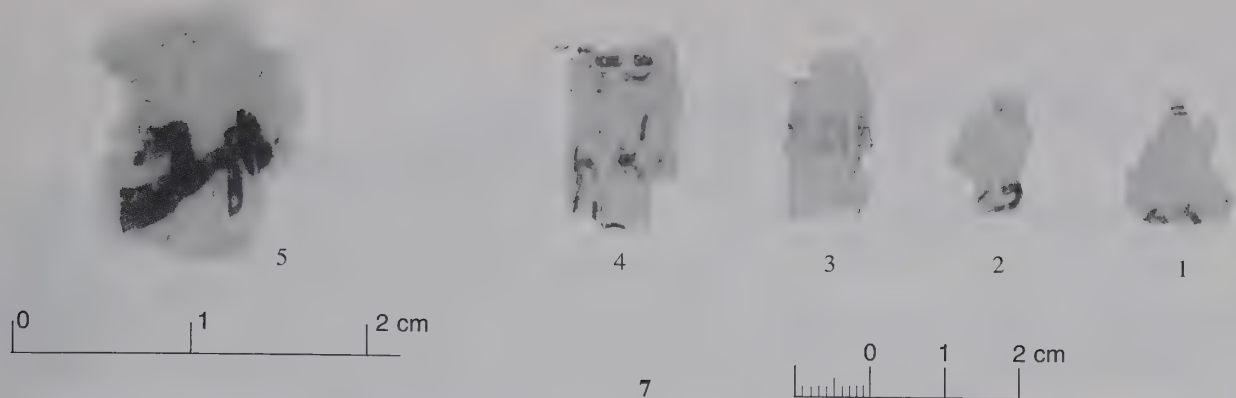
c

5e

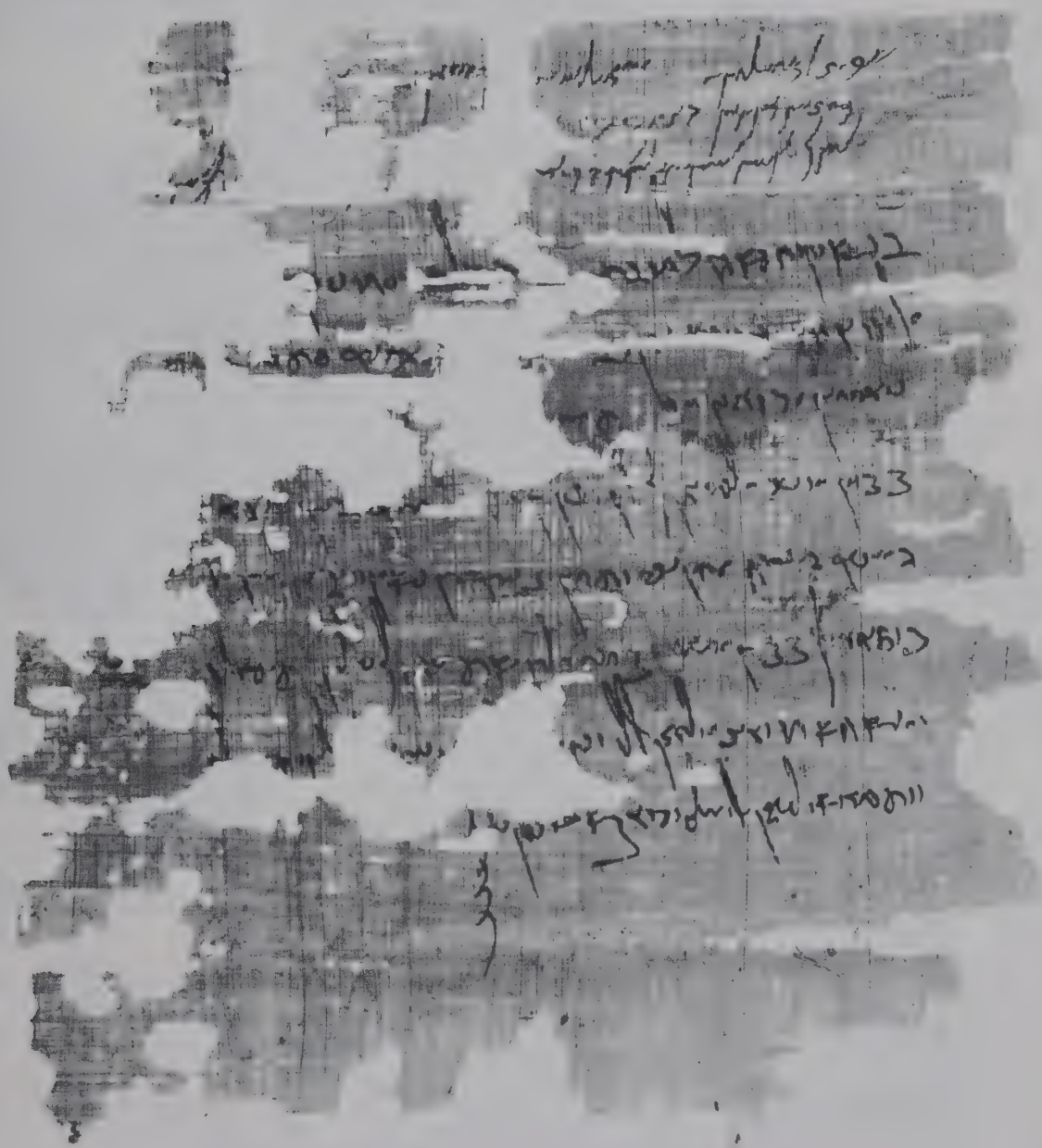
0 1 2 cm

d (651343)

6



7

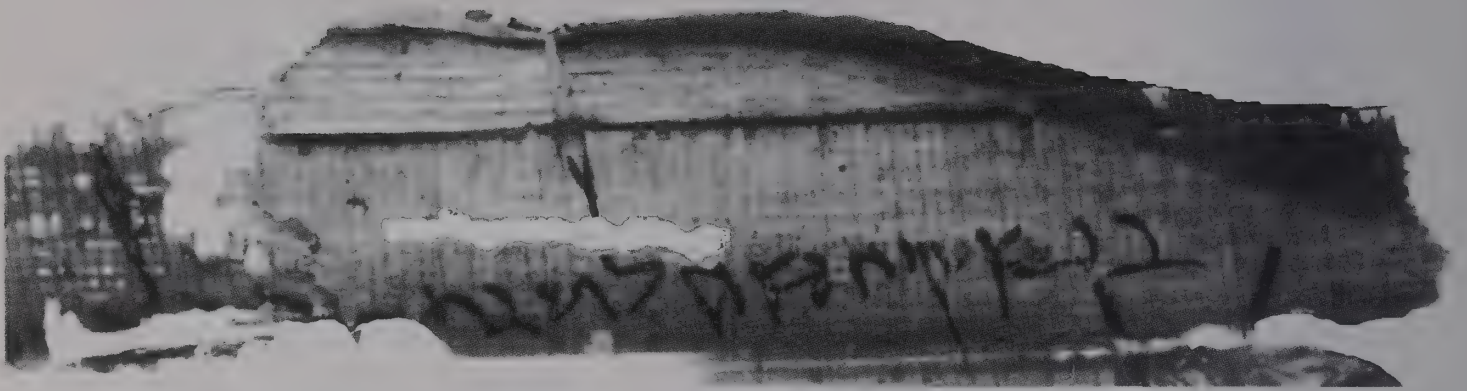


recto

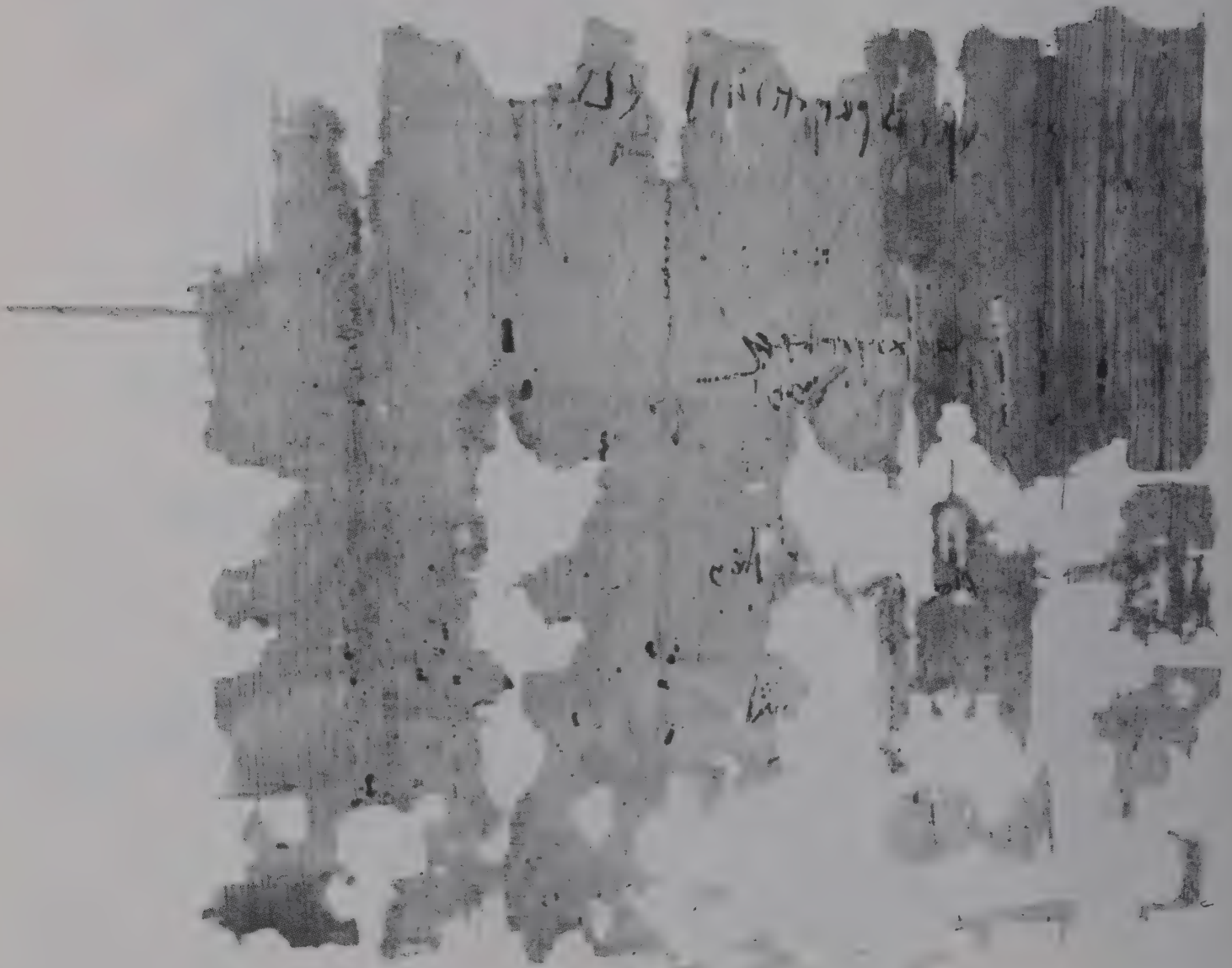
6. Jericho papyrus Unidentified Texts ar  
 IAA 391931 (frgs. 1-4)  
 Mus. Inv. K29639 (frgs. 1-4)  
 K10214-A (frg. 5)

7. Jericho papyrus Sale of Date Crop ar  
 IAA 649798; Mus. Inv. K29640





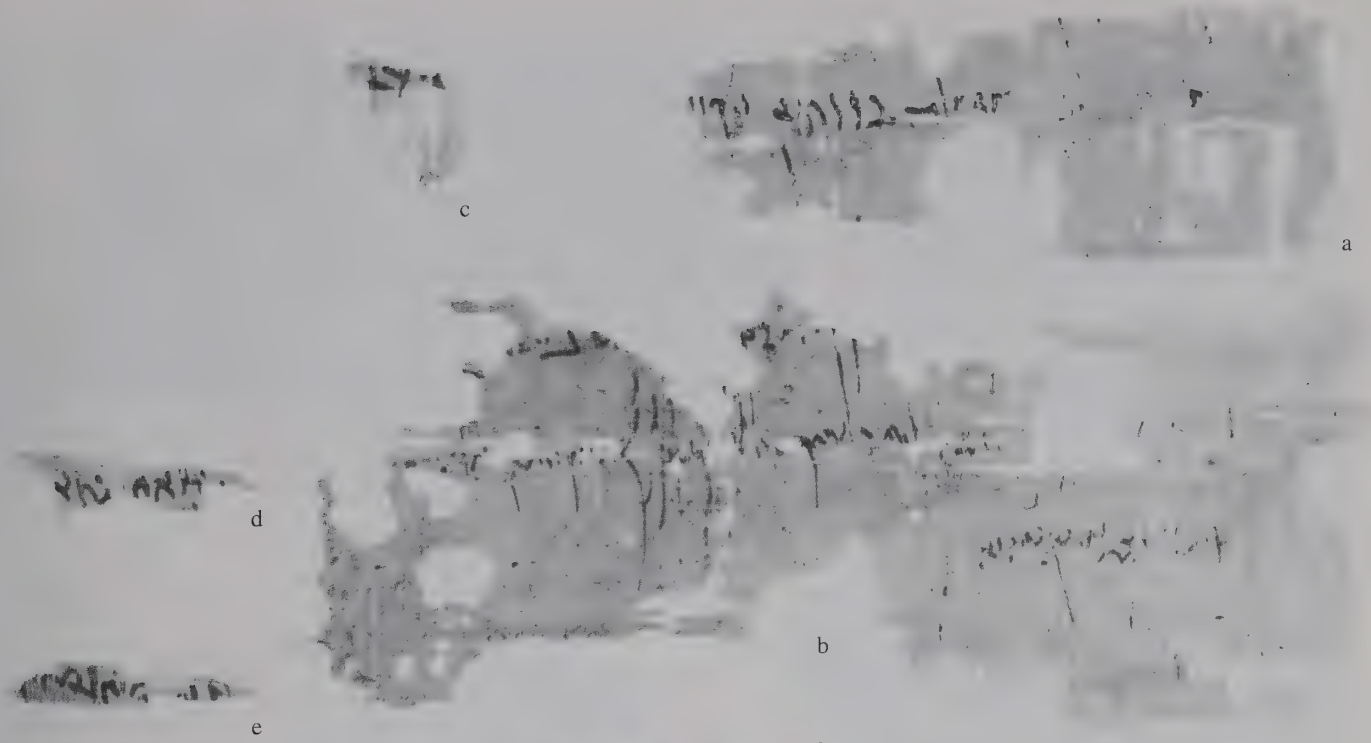
Jer 7 before opening (enlarged)



verso



8



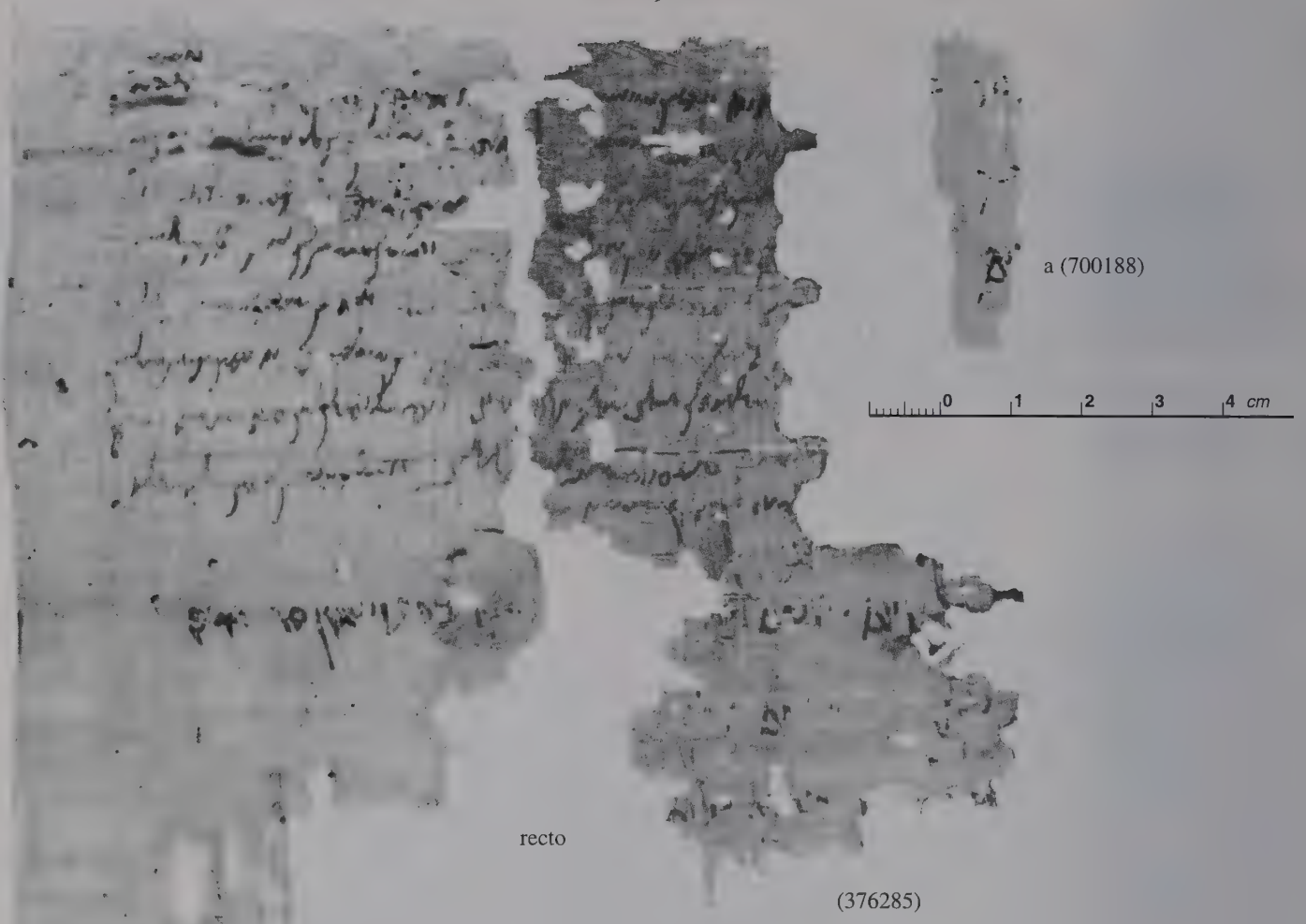
9



8. Jericho papA ar  
IAA 376292, 700188  
Mus. Inv. K29641

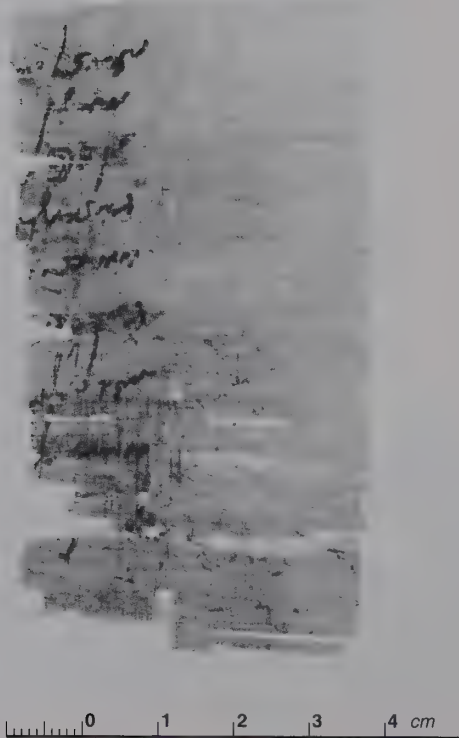
9. Jericho papDeed A heb?  
IAA 376289; Mus. Inv. K29642

9



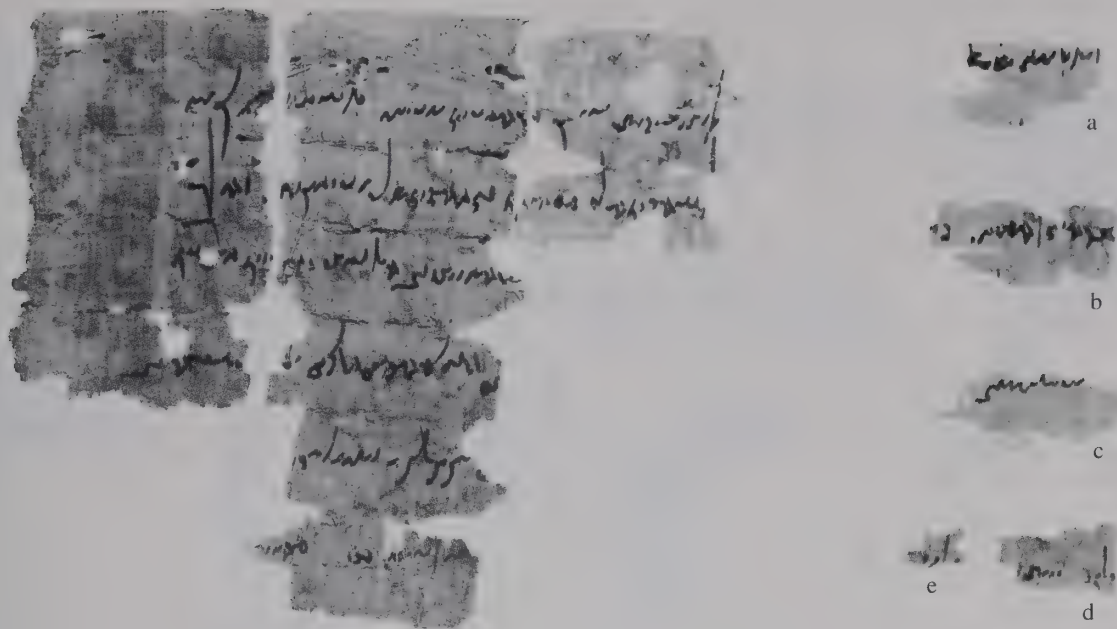
(391946)

10

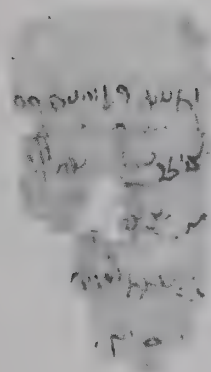


9. Jericho papDeed A heb?  
IAA 376285, 391946, 700188  
Mus. Inv. K29642

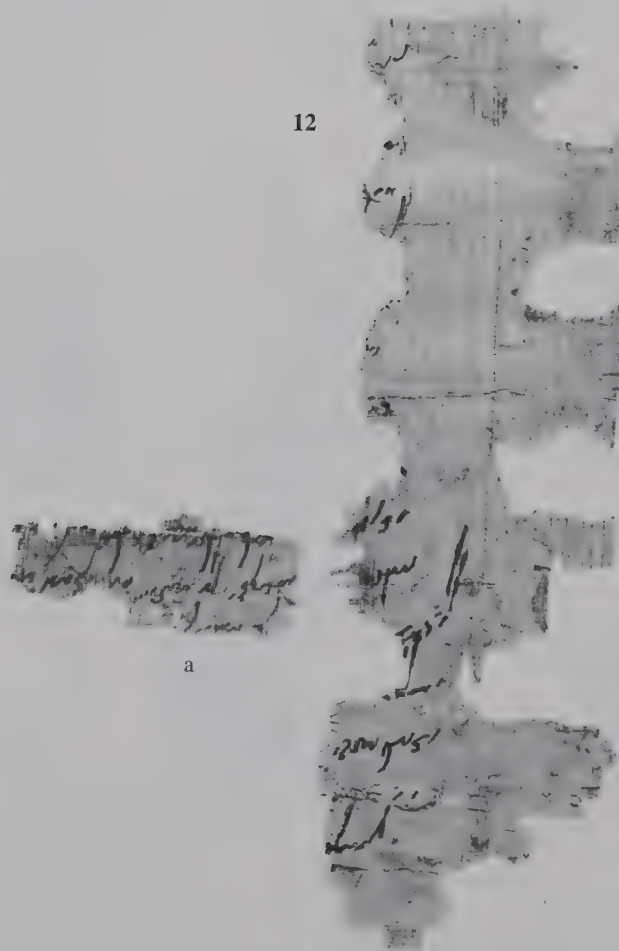
10. Jericho papDeed B heb?  
IAA 649792; Mus. Inv. K29643



13



12

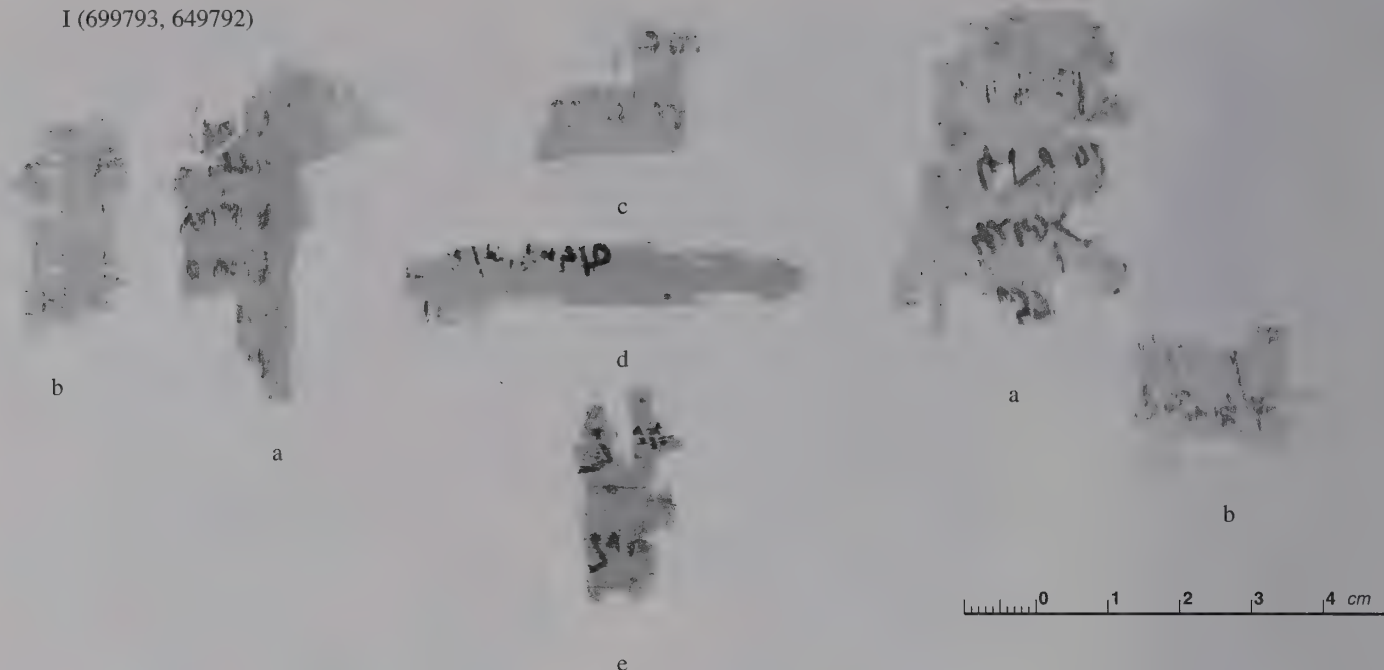


11. Jericho papDeed or Letter  
IAA 376308, 700198 (frgs. a-e)  
Mus. Inv. K29644

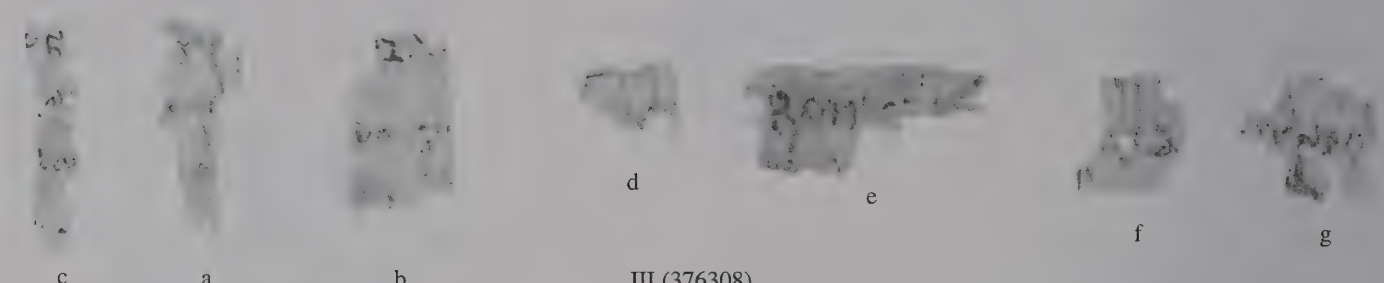
12. Jericho papDeed B ar  
IAA 376308, 700190 (frg. a)  
Mus. Inv. K29645

13. Jericho papUnclassified Text ar  
IAA 391942; Mus. Inv. K29646

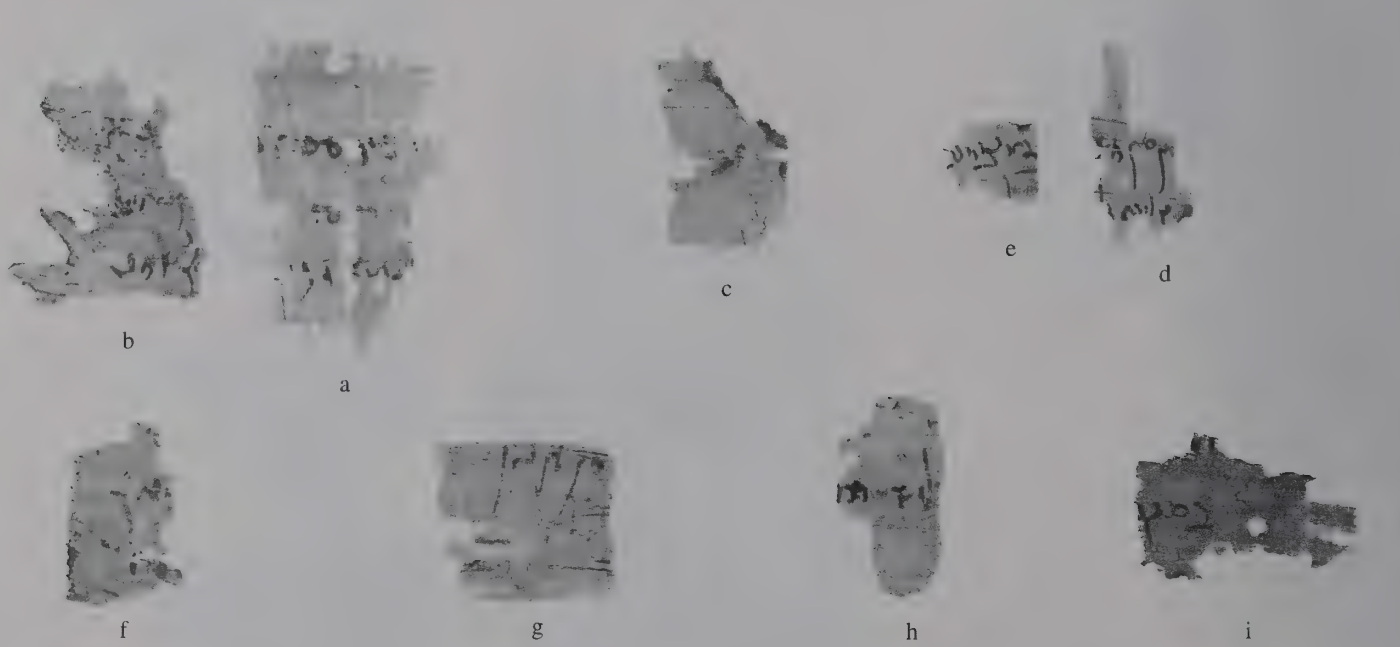
I (699793, 649792)



II (391942)



III (376308)





III (376308)

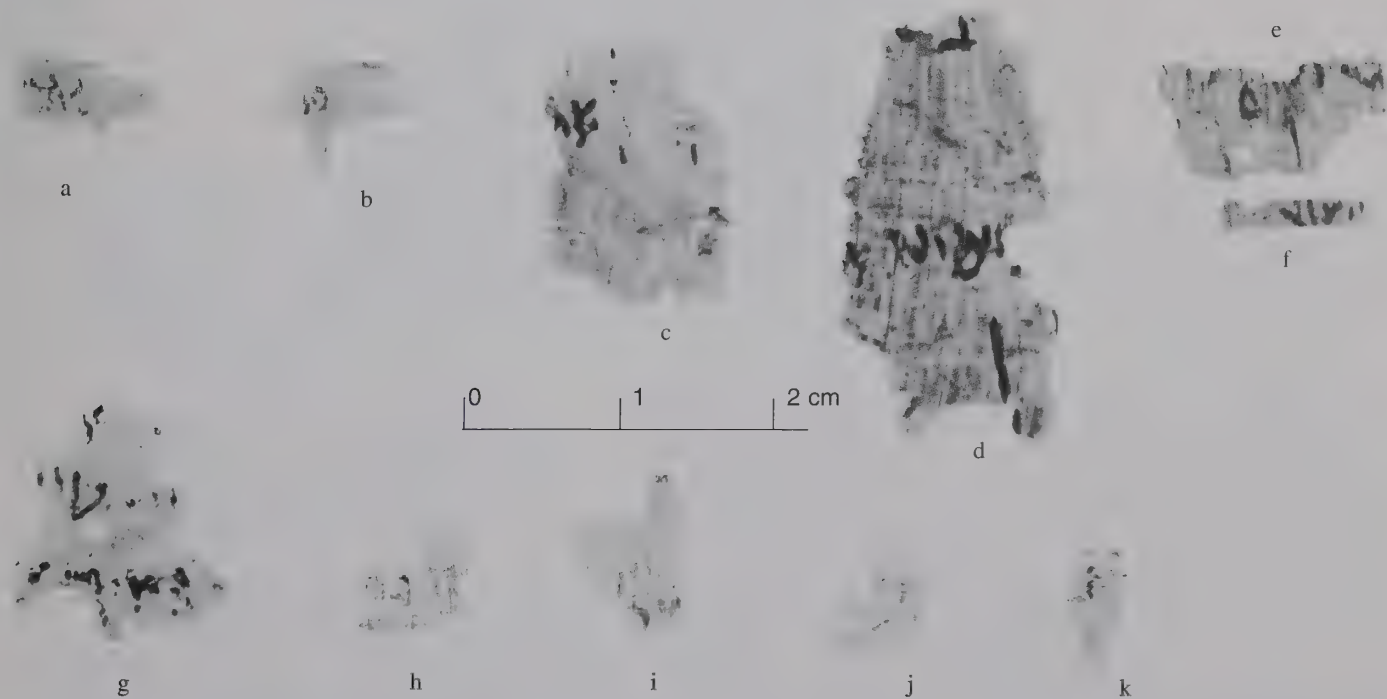
15



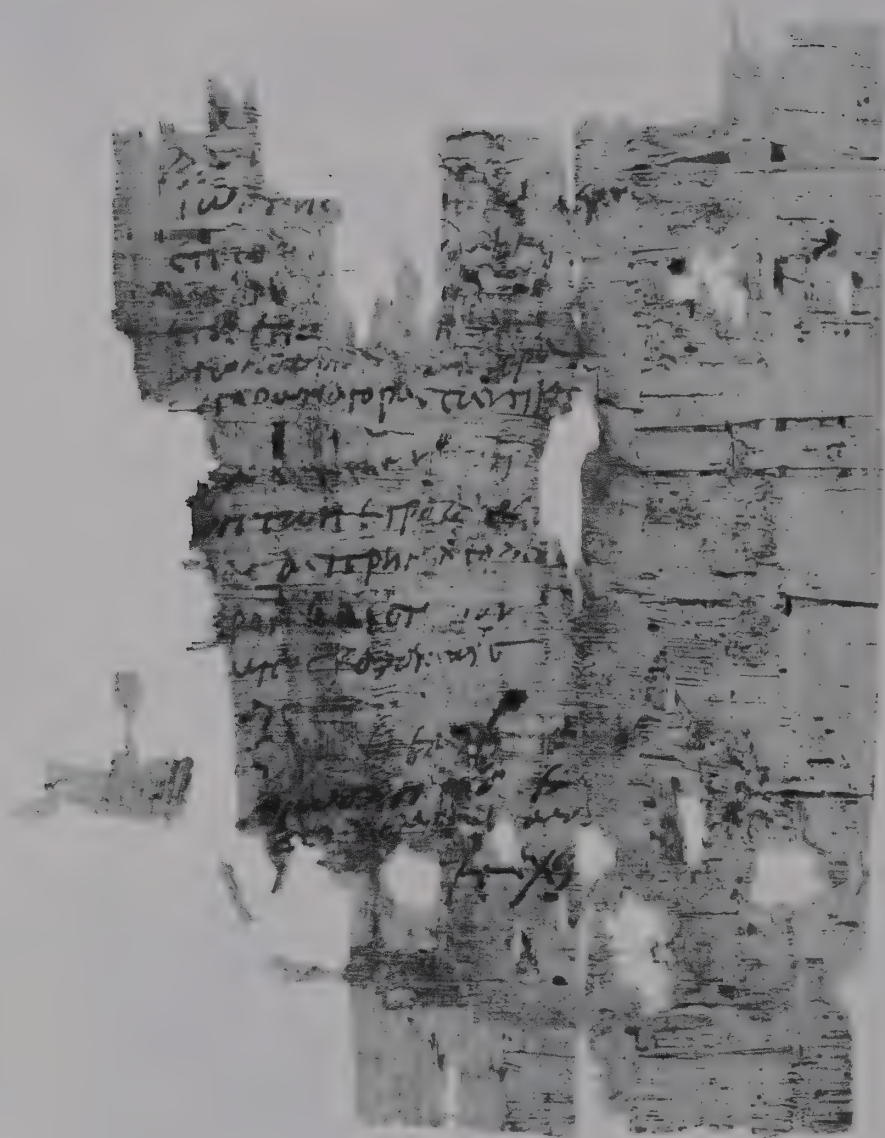
IV (700189)



V (frgs. a, b: 700189; frgs. c-k: sources unknown)

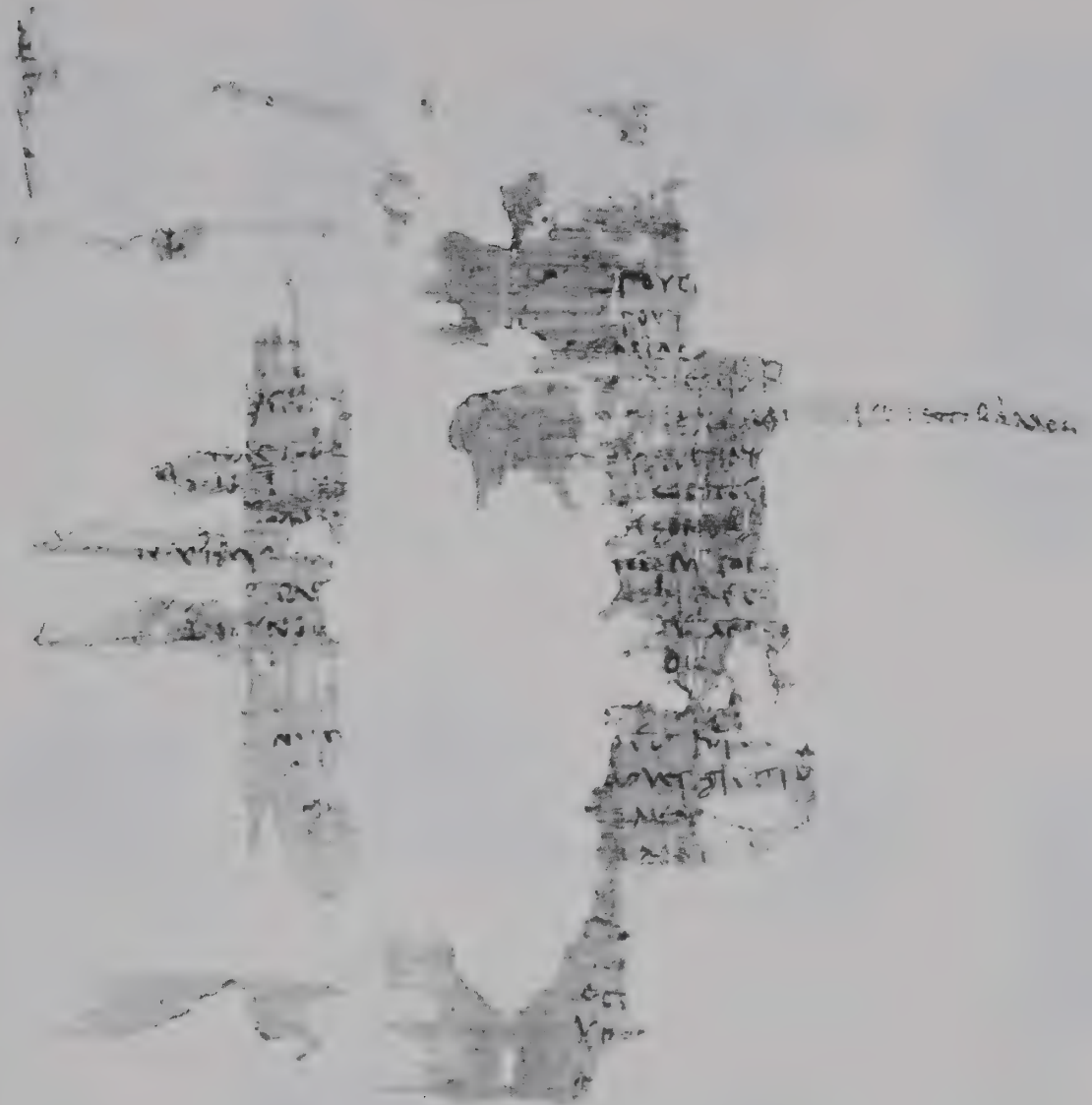




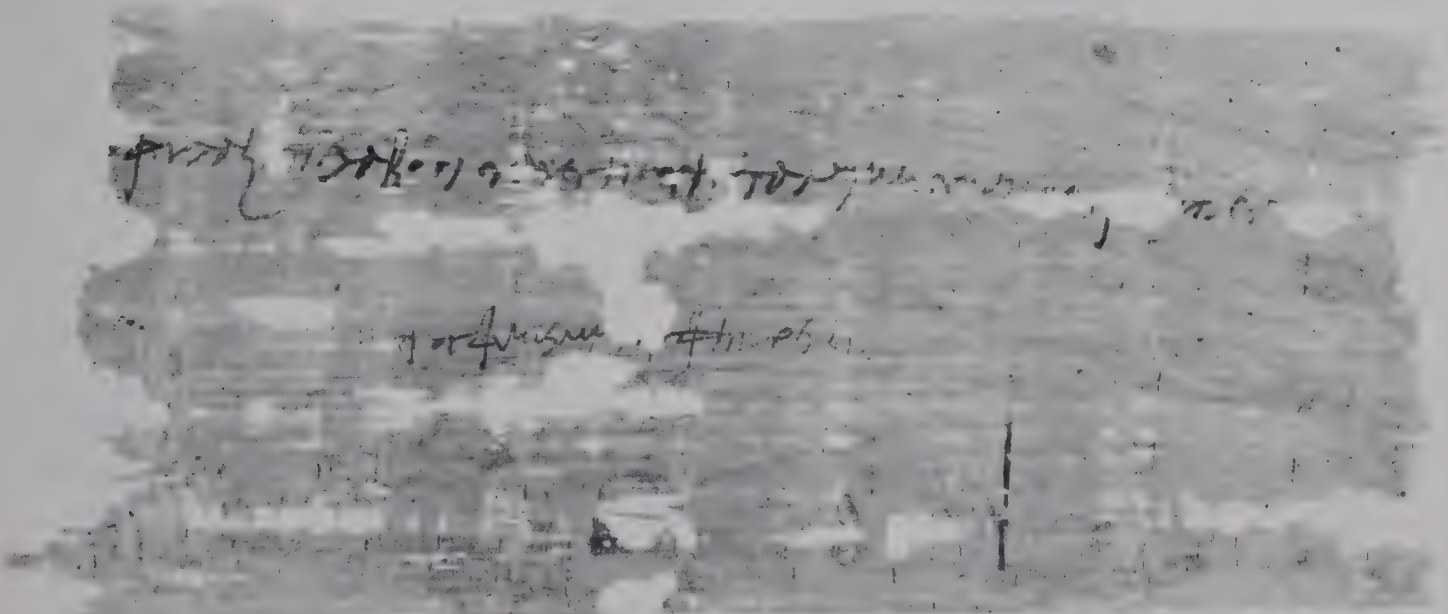


16. Jericho papText Mentioning the Emperor Hadrian gr  
IAA 376300; Mus. Inv. K29649

17

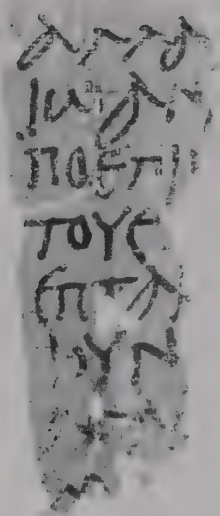


18

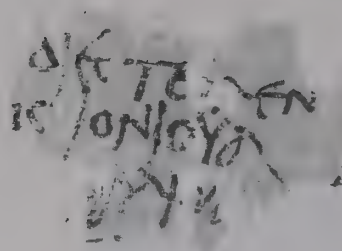


17. Jericho papDeed? gr  
IAA 651392/1; Mus. Inv. K29650

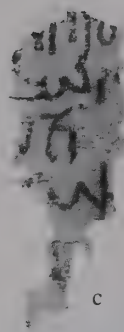
18. Jericho papFiscal Acknowledgement gr  
IAA 649791; Mus. Inv. K29651



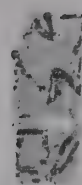
a



b



c



d



e

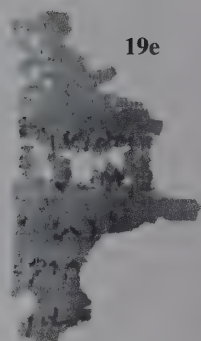
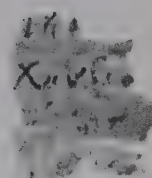
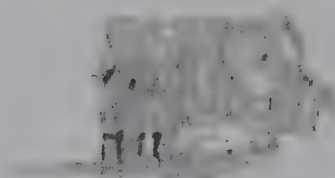
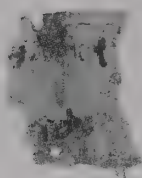
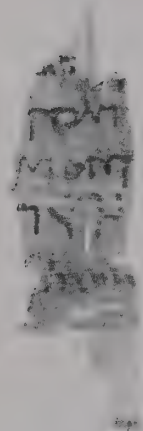
19a

19b

19c

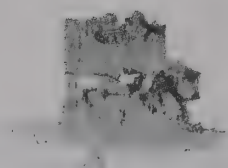
19d

19e



19f

19g



19h



g



h



o



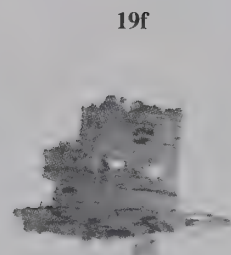
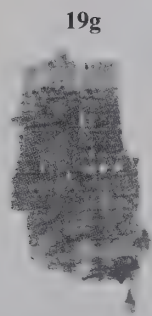
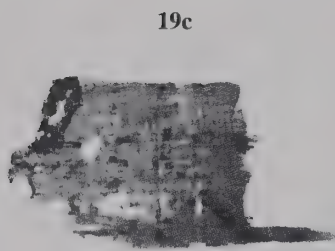
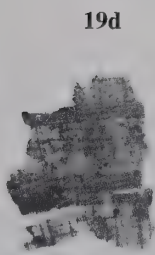
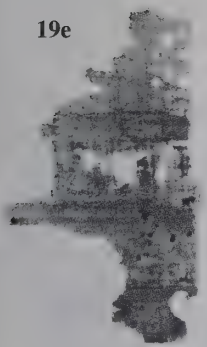
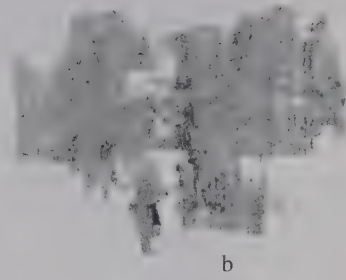
p



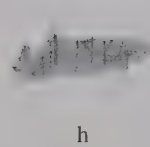
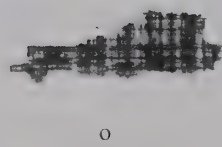
q

19. Jericho papWritten Order? gr (recto)  
19a. Jericho papUnidentified Text A gr (recto)  
19b. Jericho papList of Witnesses? gr (recto)  
19c-h. Jericho papUnidentified Texts B gr (recto)



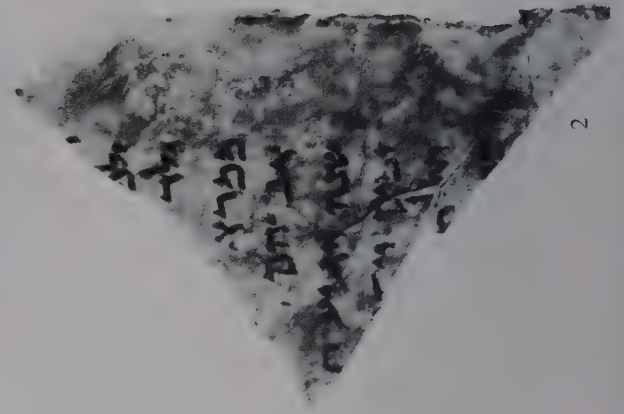


19h



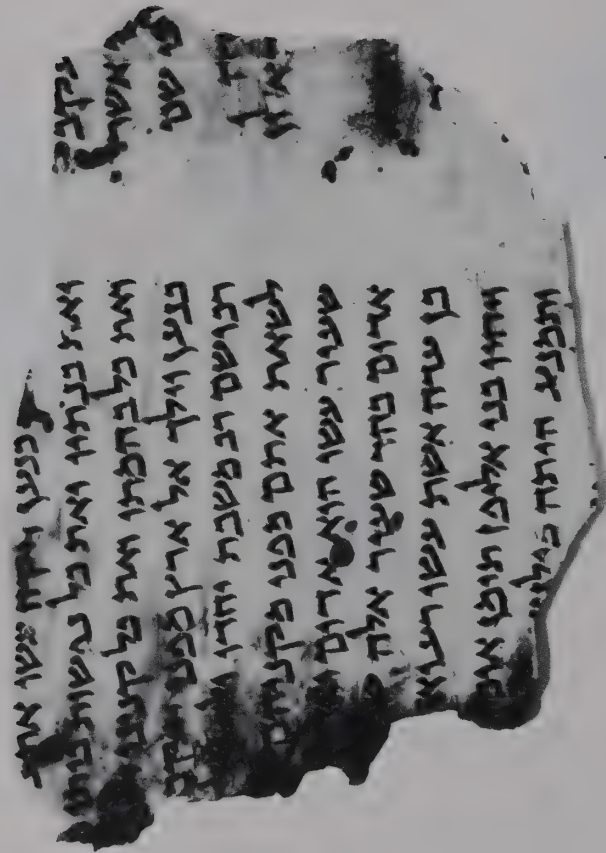
19. Jericho papWritten Order? gr (verso)  
19a. Jericho papUnidentified Text A gr (verso)  
19b. Jericho papList of Witnesses? gr (verso)  
19c-h. Jericho papUnidentified Texts B gr (verso)

Col. I



2

Col. II

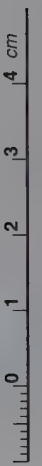


i

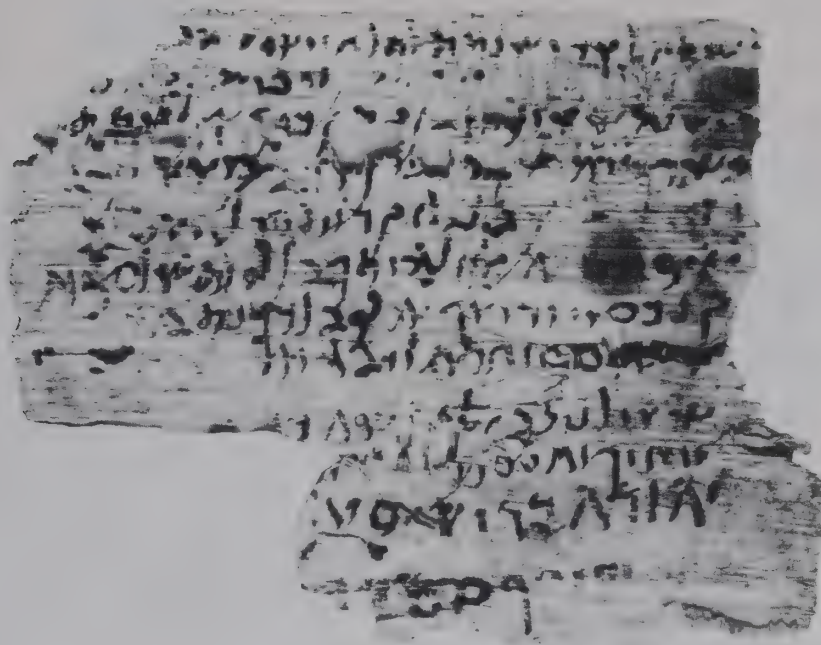
ii



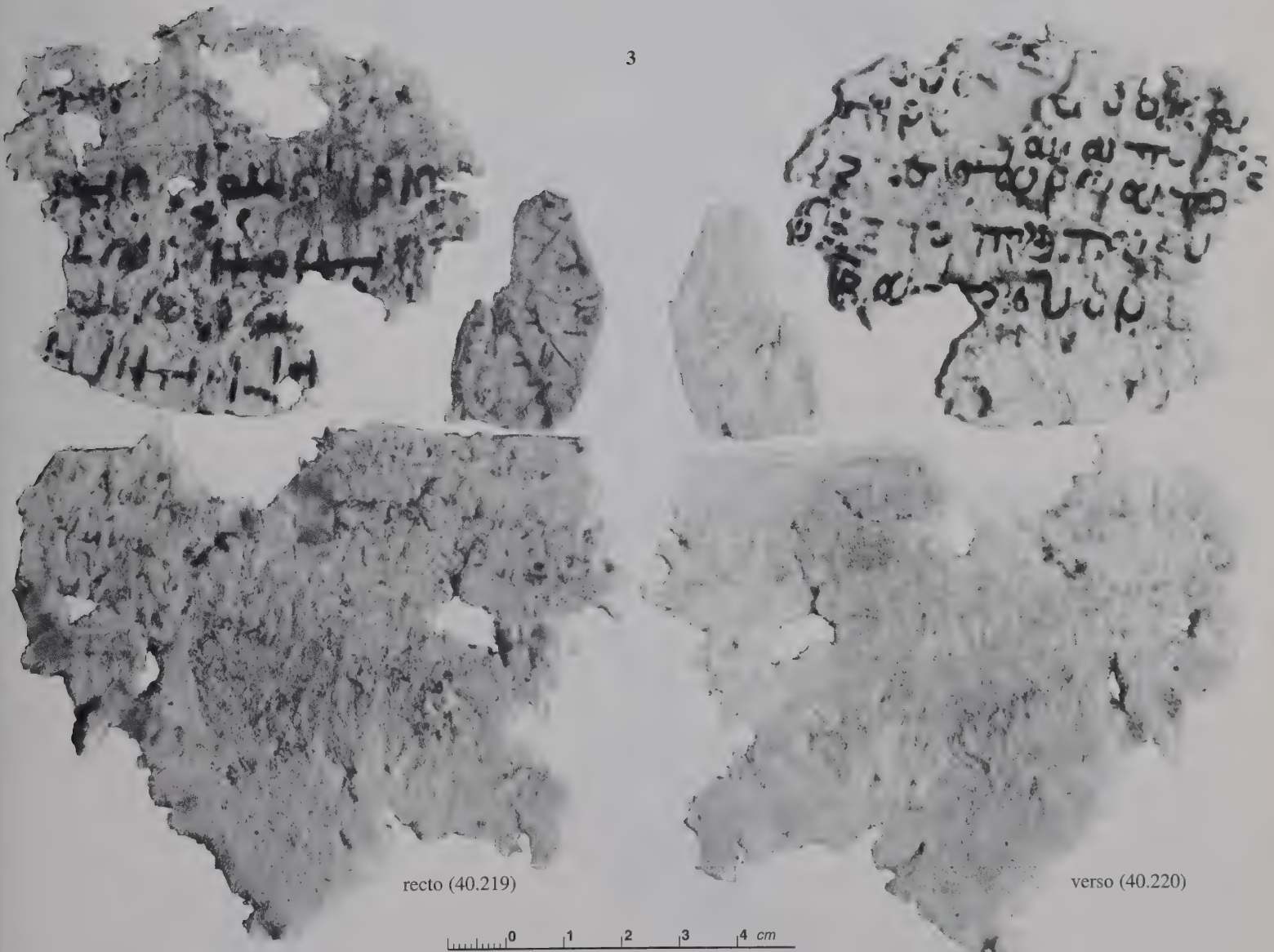
3





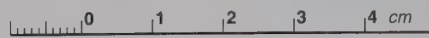


3



recto (40.219)

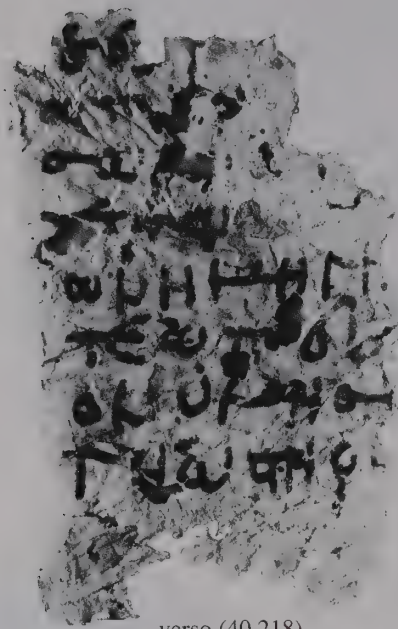
verso (40.220)



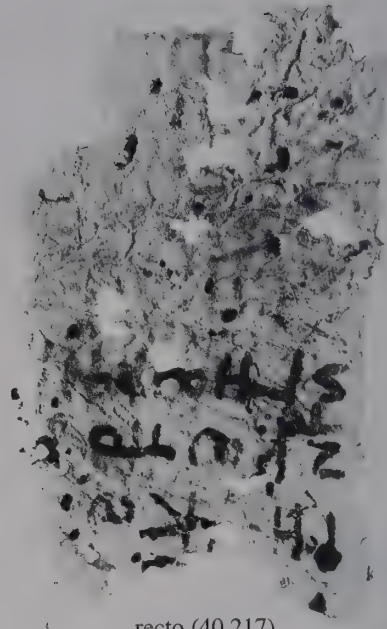
2. Sdeir pap Promissory Note? ar  
 PAM 40.217; Mus. Inv. 985

3. Sdeir Unidentified Text A gr  
 PAM 40.219, 40.220; Mus. Inv. 983

4

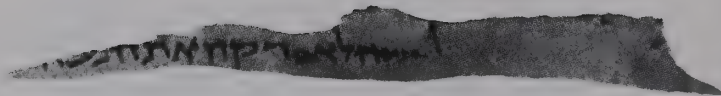


verso (40.218)

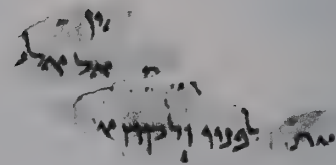


recto (40.217)

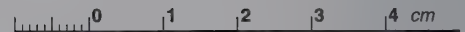
1a



3



1-2







Col. VI

נשד שוסכדנק  
 שות בשע וכוהל אב  
 כסף צרוף בעלול לשרן  
 יתה וזחה ת שפרס  
 סבוב רשעית ותה לטרן

3

Col. VII

וזר במחוק כ  
 כות ופעל ערק וז  
 מולר שזו רעה וחז  
 כישור צמחם וזת  
 למתק ולגור כס  
 י עשה

4

Col. VIII

וזר במחוק כ  
 כות ופעל ערק וז  
 מולר שזו רעה וחז  
 כישור צמחם וזת  
 למתק ולגור כס  
 י עשה

5

Col. IX

וצדקו  
 יתם וזחה ת שפרס  
 סבוב רשעית ותה לטרן  
 כפרוהו לתד ענה  
 וזר במחוק כ  
 כות ופעל ערק וז  
 מולר שזו רעה וחז  
 כישור צמחם וזת  
 למתק ולגור כס  
 י עשה

6

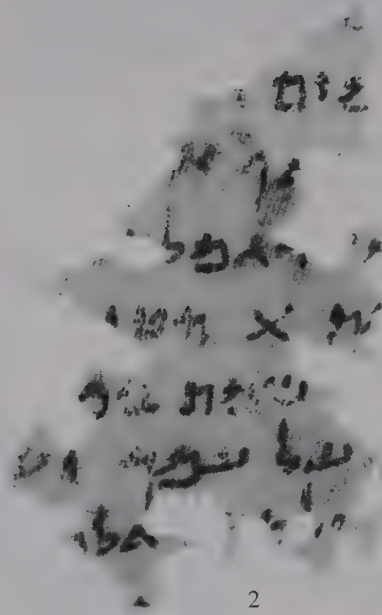
ארדוף אובין  
 עקבתם אנהקו ומה קום  
 למחנה חולל כחכה תרוע קברותהו  
 ונשאר אצפתם  
 עלמהו לו עמם  
 כרעל צרוה כטוט חוצות ארסם

7





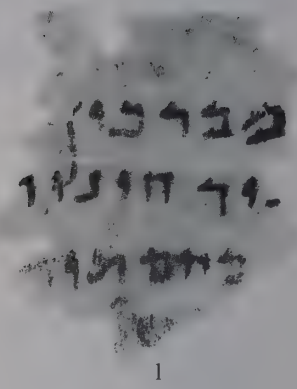
2



2

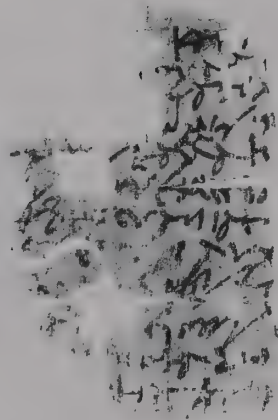


3



1

4









Fragment 2: A rectangular piece of papyrus with Hebrew text, showing signs of wear and tear. The text is arranged in several lines, though some characters are obscured by damage.

2

Fragment 1: A large, irregular fragment of papyrus with Hebrew text, featuring a prominent vertical crease. The text is arranged in several lines, with some characters appearing to be in a different script or dialect.

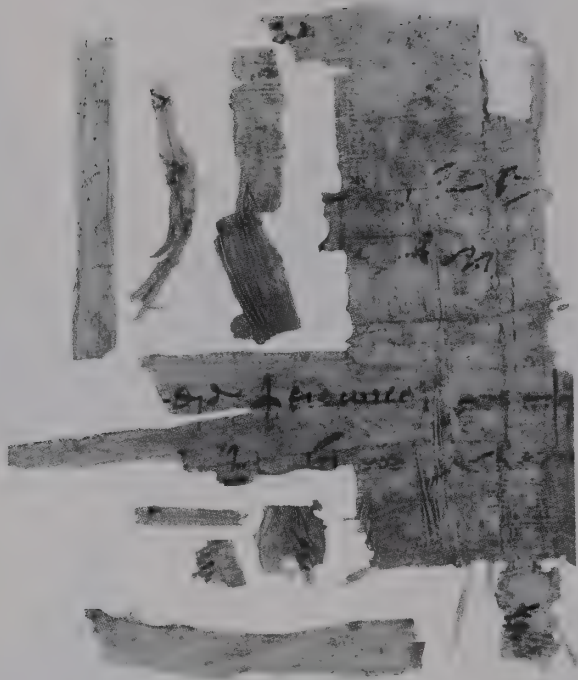
1

Fragment 3: A large, irregular fragment of papyrus with Hebrew text, showing significant damage and fragmentation. The text is arranged in several lines, with some characters appearing to be in a different script or dialect.

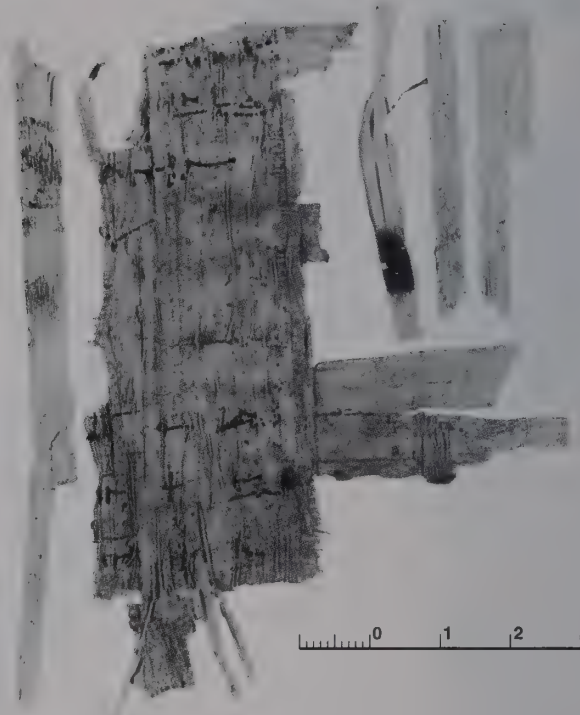
3

recto

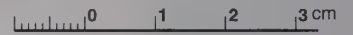
verso



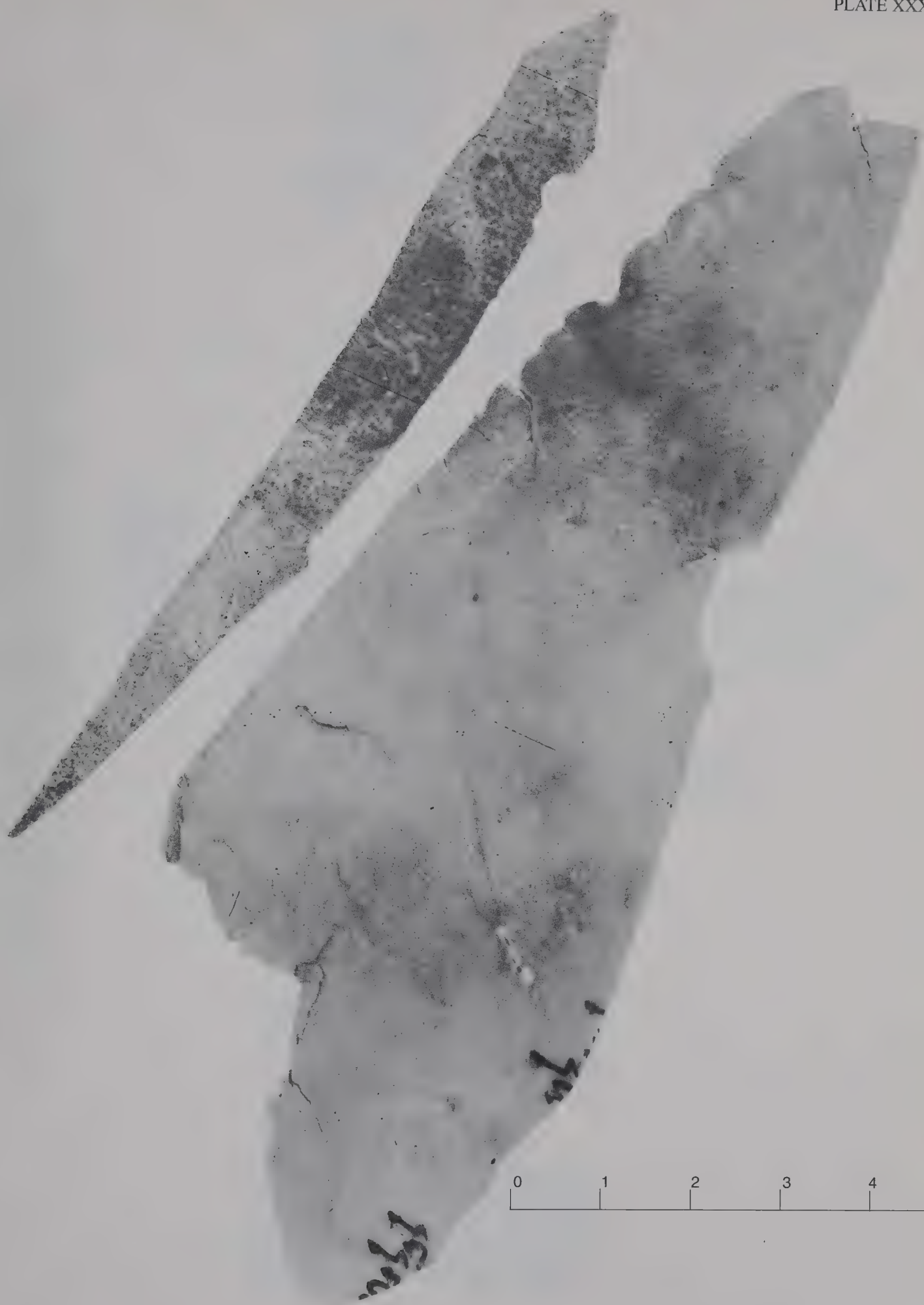
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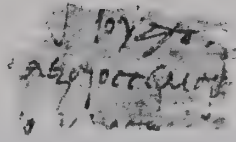




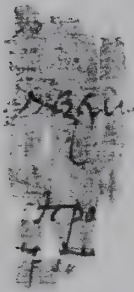
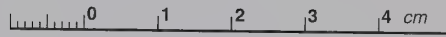
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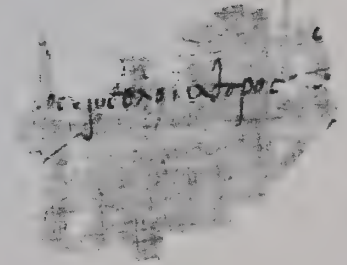
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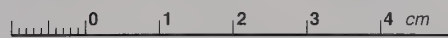
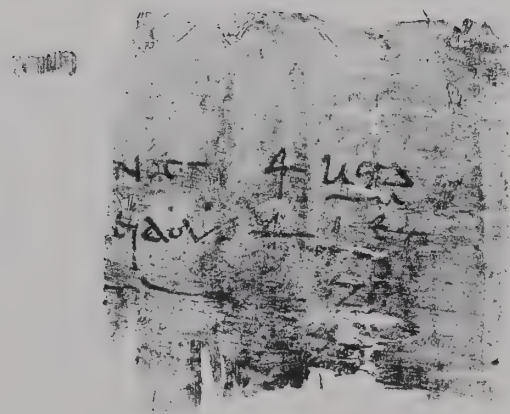


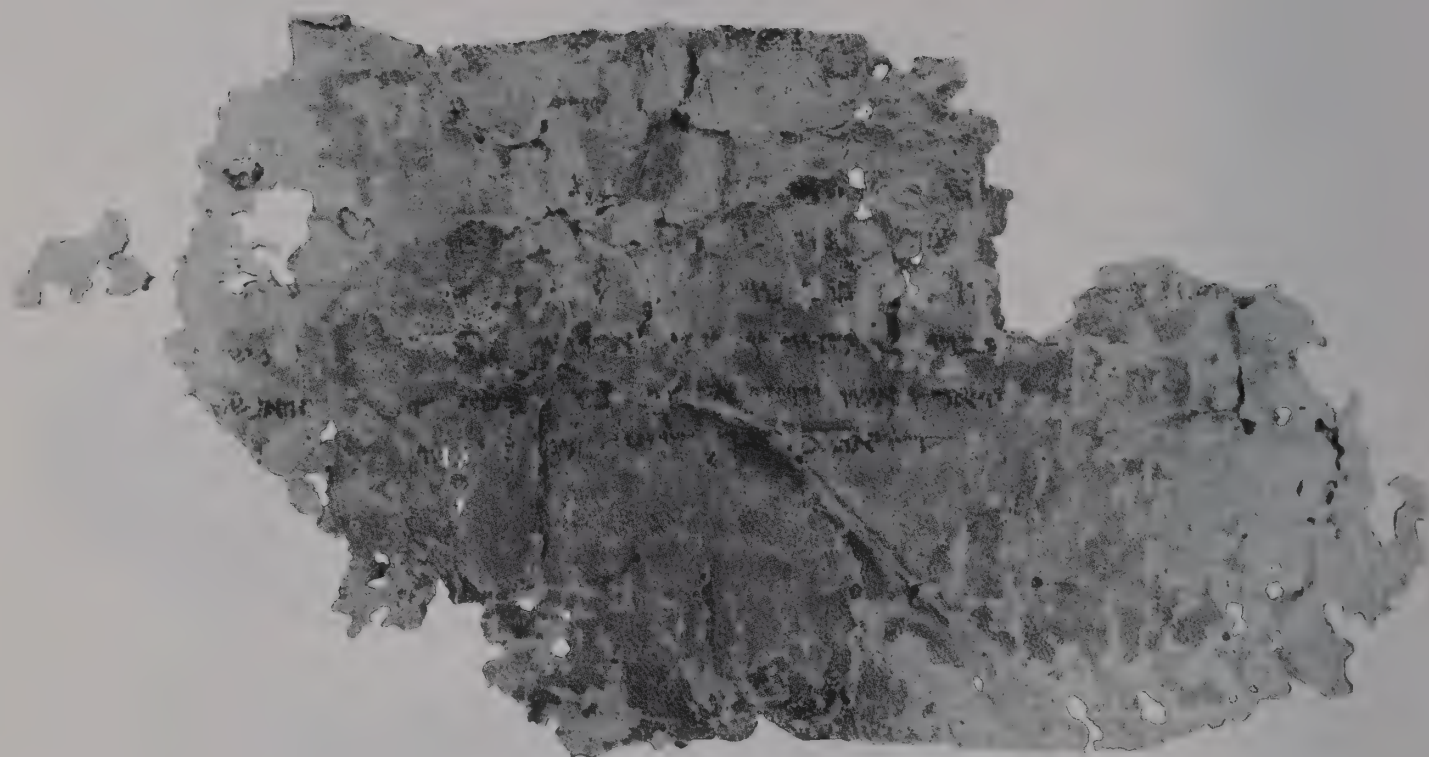
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